

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

Proemium in normannicum dracone

Ingenii virtus crescit fervore studendi
At studii nimio pressa labore iacet
Hanc regit informat reficit moderator usus
Turbat meror alit gloria firmat amor
Meror nam leves querit meditacio mentis
Distendi studium tristia corda fugit
Gloria dum sapiens claros ostendit honores
Stultus et elinguis laudis honore caret
Sic amor instigat studium sic fervor amantis
Cogitat id solum quod sibi dulce sapit

Fo. 123 (margin)

·xxxvi· annis
vastavit rollo
gallias / ante suum
baptismum -

Fo. 158.b.

libellum istum scripsi ex quodam primo antiquo libro quem in concessu. g. m. m. R. 6.
et erat ille liber ut [illegible] de ab. de b. h.

Fo. 160

/ non plus reperi in exemplari

MS. OTTOBON. 3081.

(Vatican) R.H.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS

OF

STEPHEN, HENRY II., AND RICHARD I.

VOL. II.

I.—THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE "HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM" OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH.

II.—A CONTINUATION OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH'S HISTORY TO A.D. 1298.

III.—THE "DRACO NORMANNICUS" OF ETIENNE DE ROUEN.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

The remainder of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* now printed with a continuation up to A.D. 1298.

In the present volume the fifth and concluding book of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* of William of Newburgh takes by right the first place, following in due sequence on the four books printed in the volume issued in 1884. To this is added an interesting continuation to the year 1298, compiled by a monk of Furness Abbey, and then follows the *Draco Normannicus*,[1] a work which has never been previously printed in this country. As the *Draco* seems to be known only to a small number of English readers, it may, perhaps, be pardonable to reverse the natural order of treatment, and to discuss first the points of interest and novelty presented by this curious poem, not omitting the almost romantic history of the unique MS. from which the present edition has been prepared.

The *Draco Normannicus*.

Preliminary account of the unique MS. of the *Draco Normannicus* now in the Vatican.

Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*,[2] gave the title of a manuscript in the Vatican Library thus :—

> Anonymi Normannicus Draco, versus continent historiam Mathildis imperatricis Francorum, Anglorum, et Normannorum.

This MS., he said, was numbered 1267 in the library of Christina, queen of Sweden, then and now in the Vatican; but when, about the year 1810, Dom Brial[3]

[1] The word *Draco* here of course means *standard*. For the way in which it is used by Ralph Coggeshall, see Rolls ed., p. 182. See also Ducange.

[2] i. 41.

[3] Académie Royale de Inscriptions : *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. viii. part ii., p. 297.

and his *collaborateurs* desired to see the poem, the MS. was nowhere to be found. The curiosity of Dom Brial was further stimulated by the extracts from the work which he found in a MS. belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés;[1] but, although search was made on his behalf at the Vatican, the *Draco Normannicus* eluded all seekers. It is not wonderful that no one was able to find it, for the volume had passed into the library of baron Philip de Stosch, the English Resident at Florence, and having then in some mysterious way returned to the Vatican, had been classed under a different number in a different collection. How it returned is scarcely less a matter for conjecture than the way in which it originally escaped from custody. Probably it was stolen, sold to the baron, and then purchased at the sale of his library at Florence, in 1756.

This was not the first time the *Draco Normannicus* had been stolen, as we shall see when the appropriate place in this preface for a detailed description of the MS. is reached. It will be enough to state here, that it was restored to the Vatican; and, being placed among the MS. of cardinal Ottobuoni, thenceforward lay unrecognised under the number 3081. Whatever its full history, the MS., though safe in its hiding-place, had long been set down as lost, when, after a lapse of about a hundred and twenty years, its contents suddenly appeared in print.

Cardinal Angelo Mai had found it, but had not announced his discovery. He had transcribed it, however, and his transcript, found after his death[2] among his papers, was published in 1871 under the editorship of a Basilian monk, Father Joseph Cozza.[3] This edition

[1] Now MS. *Fonds Latin*, No. 11,889, in the Bibl. Nationale, Paris. The extracts extend from *fo.* 57 to *fo.* 95.

[2] He died in 1854.

[3] *Appendix ad opera edita ab Angelo Maio S.R.E. Presb. Card.*, Romæ, apud J. Spithoever, 1871. 4to.

is severely handled by Dr. Pauli;[1] and certainly the text, as presented, is not all that could be desired. There are, moreover, two omissions, one intentional, amounting to the loss of 50 lines, another unintentional, passing over an entire distich.

The MS. now to be seen in the Vatican Library is written on paper of early date, and the writing is of the 15th century—about, perhaps rather later than, the year 1450. The Roman editor complains of the difficulty of the handwriting, but, beyond the ordinary problem of dealing with words consisting of a series of similar strokes, there is seldom any ambiguity, and the penmanship is very fair, as may be seen by reference to the fac-simile[2] of the opening words of the poem prefixed to the present volume.

The general scope of the poem.

The general scope of the work may be best indicated by the list of topics which the author gives in the introductory verses. The list has this especial virtue, that it gives an idea of the extraordinary arrangement, or want of arrangement, of the materials the poet proposed to deal with.

Henry II. and his parents, the Norman settlers in Neustria, William the Conqueror, Stephen, Pepin, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, and the papal schism of 1159; these and collateral topics are separately treated, with the natural result that startling transitions are frequent throughout. The poem furnishes an account of the death of the empress Maud, and winds up with details of the peace of the 6th of January, 1169. No more choice contribution to English history could perhaps have been made than an account of these years, had the poet been less diffuse, and less intent on turning

[1] "The Academy," 1 Sept., 1872.

[2] Not being able to have the MS. photographed, I first took a tracing in pencil, and afterwards completed it in ink. Minute care is not always successful; but any one familiar with 15th century hands will be able to judge whether, or not, a particular style has been consistently imitated.

tricky verses. Fortunately it is impossible for the vainest and most shallow of mankind to write about the days in which he lived, without unintentionally telling much that is exceedingly valuable to after ages. This is the case with the anonymous author of the *Draco Normannicus*. Three-fourths of that which he wishes most to impress upon his readers is valueless; but the remainder, and the whole of his chance utterances, are deeply interesting. It is the duty of an editor to sift these matters for the benefit of his readers; but, before proceeding to the task, it is very desirable that the writer of the poem should be discovered, and that all that is known of him should be detailed. The acuteness of Dom Brial gave the original clue, which Dr. Fierville and the present editor have so far followed out that few probably will care to doubt that Etienne de Rouen is the poet, or at least the author, to whom we owe the *Draco*.

Attribution of the *Draco Normannicus* to Etienne de Rouen.

There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a MS. of the 12th century [1] containing numerous poems, which in many places proclaim themselves to be the work of Etienne de Rouen, a monk of Bec Herluin. Extracts from all of those which have any bearing on the question of the author's identity, or which have any other interest, are appended to the present volume. A casual perusal of them will shew that Etienne was no poet, but beyond question a facile perpetrator of the worst mannerisms, nay mechanisms, of mediæval versification. A monk requires no forgiveness for presenting us with Leonine hexameters, or rhymed verses of other types. The mediæval hymn-writers, as a body, need no apology other than the mere names of Bernard of Morlaix, and

[1] Probably in the author's own handwriting. It contains also Etienne's abbreviation of the Institutions of Quintilian, some extracts from Cicero, and other transcripts.

Thomas of Celano; but a man who carries on for more than thirty lines the vexatious trick shown in the following extract, has but one single accidental circumstance to plead in extenuation,—his hand can probably be detected anywhere:—

> *Cedit et omne tibi,* quod sese vivere sentit,
> Quod sub sole jacet, *cedit et omne tibi.*
> *Cessit et iste tibi,* quem carmen personat istud,
> Laus cujus fremit hic, *cessit et iste tibi.*[1]

It would be wearisome to note all the peculiarities of his style. We must descend to Lord Macaulay's fourth-form schoolboy to find a parallel to Etienne de Rouen in the use of *hinc* and *jam*; but there is one word without which he is apparently at no time able to versify.

The word *jus* in all its significations, and with its useful inflections *jura, jure, juribus,* appears profusely in almost every piece. In the poems, for example, it occurs four times on p. 766, and on pp. 772 and 774, twice. In the *Draco* it is even more abundant, occurring on p. 721 seven times and on p. 595 six times. Indeed there is scarcely a page without it. The frequent use of *feritas, probitas,* and *polus* may be also noted as marked peculiarities common both to the writer of MS. *Fonds Latin* 14,146 and to the writer of the *Draco Normannicus.*

Next we may note that Etienne often substantially repeats his own verses.

The following instances are from his smaller poems:—

On p. 767 we have,

> Eloquio Cicero, versibus ipse Maro.

On p. 773,

> In prosa Cicero, versu Maro cederet illi.

On p. 778,

> Nec prosa jam Ciceroni
> Cedit metrove Maroni.

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[1] p. 774.

These cases will prepare us for the final and practically conclusive indication of authorship.[1] On p. 766 is a poem on Waleran, count of Meulan, which occurs among the other poems of Etienne de Rouen, in MS. *Fonds Latin* 14,146, and on the folio actually preceding the acrostic (p. 771) which declares the author's name.

Identical passages in the *Draco* and in Etienne de Rouen's acknowledged poems.

The opening lines of this poem are :—

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.

Turning to the *Draco Normannicus*, p. 602, we find that lines 290 and 291, which refer to Geoffrey of Anjou, are as follows :—

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.

Much more could be urged : but this will be enough for all whom it is necessary to convince.[2]

The genuineness of the *Draco* has never, it is believed, been doubted. If the word *salutes*, on p. 743, *l.* 973, refers to the coins known as "saluts" a question of interpolation might be raised, but alternative meanings for the word are numerous.

Personal history of Etienne de Rouen.

Let us now see what little is known concerning our author. From poems printed in the Appendix to the present volume we learn that he was the son of a brother of Bernard, formerly a monk of Bec, who became abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1134, and died on the 8th of May, 1149; also that Etienne, following

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[1] The question of plagiarism, in all the circumstances of Etienne's position, can hardly be entertained.

[2] The foot-note on p. 595 was in type before I had read Dr. Ch. Fierville's papers on Etienne de Rouen in the "*Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*," tom. viii., pp. 54–78 and 421–443. Dr. Fierville, speaking of the identical couplets, says : "Enfin, il est une "preuve que j'ai réservée pour la "dernière : elle est concluante."

his uncle's example, entered Herluin's famous monastery. Abbot Bernard had in his own abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel another nephew, Guillaume de l'Arche, who is mentioned, Dr. Fierville says, in a charter of Guillaume de Boucey in favour of that abbey, and who was of course either the brother or cousin of our author.

The uncle and nephews were descended from a noble Norman family, as Etienne is careful to record. Of abbot Bernard he says:—

> Hujus uterque parens præclaro stegmate nati,
> Inter concives præmultis sunt venerati.
> Hunc aluit puerum Normannia terra celebris,
> Parisius fecit cæcis exire tenebris.[1]

Etienne de Rouen does not seem to have been of sufficient importance to be referred to in the *Chronicon Beccense*, and the single external reference to him probably now extant was obtained at Rome by the present editor. Cardinal Mai contented himself with the bare mention of the fact [2] that a list of the monks of Bec exists in the Vatican MS. Regin. 499. This on examination proves to be a complete matriculation list, parcelled out between the abbots by whom the various novices were received. The titles of those monks who rose to be abbots or bishops are given, but rarely any other details beyond the Christian name.

His name appears in the Matriculation List of the abbey of Bec Herluin.

Now Letard was abbot from 1139 to 1149, and Roger from that date to 1179, and thus when we consider the dates respecting Etienne's uncle, and also the approximate date of Etienne's death (about 1170), which we hope to establish below, it seems reasonable to think that he was admitted to the monastery either by Letard, or an earlier abbot.

[1] In stating the relationship between Etienne and abbot Bernard I have followed MM. Brial, Delisle, and Fierville; but I confess that I find the already somewhat ambiguous passage on p. 776 (lines 39 to 43) become still more doubtful in meaning when juxtaposed with lines 40 to 45 on p. 779.

[2] In his edition of the *Draco*, p. 51, note 2.

On examining the list of novices admitted by the third abbot (A.D. 1093–1124) we find that "Letardus "abbas vj." was his 25th novice, "Bernardus abbas" his 216th, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury his 269th. The fourth abbot, Boso (1124–1136), admitted 195[1] novices, his 109th admission being a "Stephanus." The fifth abbot, Theobald (1136–1138), entered 49 on his roll, none of them bearing the name of Stephen.

This brings us to Letard (Jan. 1139–July 1149), whose 48th novice, out of a total of 114, was "Ste-"phanus."

The list runs thus :—

Willelmus.
BRI.
Rogerius.
Osbernus.
Walterius.
R.
Stephanus.
Goscelinus.[2]

Probable date at which the author entered the abbey of Bec.

Is there much reason to doubt that "BRI." above *Rogerius* means *Rogerius Brito*, and that "R." above *Stephanus*[3] means *Stephanus Rothomagensis?* If this be conceded, then, as Etienne was 47th among the 114 entered during 11½ years, it is probable that he joined in his abbot's fifth year, that is A.D. 1143, six years before his uncle's death. There is the previous *Stephanus* admitted about 1130 to be accounted for, but the letter "R." was probably intended as the distinguishing mark of a monk who, though he never obtained preferment, had made himself one of the minor celebrities of the abbey. If

[1] I only counted the names once, but, I think, with care sufficient to avoid serious error.

[2] A fuller list is given in the Appendix, pp. 780, 781. The number of novices admitted is astonishing. Lay brothers would hardly be included.

[3] The connexion between these letters and the names *below* them is very clear in the MS.

he became a monk in 1143, and died in 1170, he probably fell by an early death, and the fact that he is only known to have reached deacons' orders [1] supports, though very weakly, this view. Certainly, when balancing probabilities, we must prefer the claims of "*Stephanus R.*" to "*Stephanus*," for surely the uncertainty of human life leaves us no reason to say that he was the older rather than the younger of the two Stephens.

Etienne's minor poems were addressed either to the world at large, to his uncle Bernard, or to one of three correspondents, (i.) a brother poet, Gislebert, who probably lived at Rome; (ii.) a monk named Guy; and (iii.) a young man named Rudolf, a theological student at Rome, apparently expecting to enter the cloister in three years' time. This Rudolf seems to have formerly lived at Bec, and most probably was a relative of Etienne's, for the latter sends him money which he is to give to Gislebert to expend for him:—

> Victum nam scribis inter quos degere scisti
> Dant, tibi vestitum nos demus ut ante petisti.
> En tibi transmitto nummos nimium rutilantes,
> Hos precor accipias omnes te lætificantes,
> Et Gisleberto tribuas, qui fit tibi papa,
> Ex ipsis tibimet ematur ut optima capa.

Another sign of relationship may be detected in the personal admonitions the youth has presumed to give:—

> Iracundum me scribis simul esse superbum,
> Ut reor hæc vitia non norunt pectora nostra.

How long Etienne lived is uncertain. Unhappily the *Necrologium Beccense,* from which Du Monstier quotes,[2] is no longer to be traced, even by Dr. Potthast, so we

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[1] See p. 776:—

> Inspice quod Stephanus dicitur iste,
> Levitæque gradum cernito ferre.

[2] *Neustria Pia,* p. 444.

must fall back on the internal evidence of the work itself.

We know from lines 171 and 172 of book III. (p. 717), that Etienne was writing that part of his poem about April 1168; and we know (pp. 755–757) that he lived to see the peace of January 1169. We are also certain from the tone of his utterances in the closing words on p. 757, and elsewhere, that he never knew of Becket's fate. Many of these passages would necessarily have been altered after the news of a death which even adverse partisans in the 12th century regarded as a martyrdom. Lastly, we have the fragmentary poem (pp. 761–3) taken, together with the *Draco*, "ex quo-" dam parvo antiquo libro." This poem the monk who copied it notes as a fragment saying, "non plus reperi." His careful prior [1] adds "*in exemplari*," thus assuring us that he gave us all that was obtainable,—probably the last words which Etienne de Rouen wrote in the "little " old book." This piece describes the stormy voyage from Normandy which landed Henry II. at Portsmouth, on March the 3rd, 1170. Benedict of Peterborough (i. 3, 4) gives the story very graphically; and, though his account differs a little from the poem, the identity of the event in each work is indisputable.[2]

On the 29th of December, 1170, Becket fell under the swords of his four assassins, and we thus get limiting dates between which there is very little doubt that Etienne de Rouen passed from the cloister to the grave. Perhaps his hands were folded over the staff which Henry gave him when he followed the king into Brittany to tell him of his mother's death. At least such was the custom, and clearly the writer's hope:

Probable date of Etienne de Rouen's death.

[1] See p. xciii.

[2] The fragment was, as we know, taken from the same ancient MS. as the *Draco*, and the style is indistinguishable from Etienne's. In the absence of any reason to doubt his authorship, these two points may be deemed conclusive.

Nec tamen hic cassus; baculo, dulcedine pleno,
Ditatur rediens, at monachilis erat.
Dulcior at multo quam pontificalis habetur,
Hic et ille simul consepelitur eis.[1]

The literary aspect of the poem.

We have alluded above to the way in which Etienne overcame some of the difficulties of versification, but we have not spoken of the metrical errors which mar the *Draco Normannicus*.

A few of those in the first book are pointed out as the poem proceeds; but to mark all would have been to encumber the pages with profitless foot-notes. The fact is that our author demands many startling concessions in these matters, requiring us to accept *phĭlosophīa*, *mērīdies*, *mĕror* (*mœror*), *Darīus*, and many similar blunders. Perhaps his largest draft on our charity is the line:—

Hunc per legatos princeps Constantinopolitanus.[2]

It ill becomes those in possession of modern appliances, whether for science or literature, to be hard on the mistakes of a twelfth-century monk, but, leaving his errors of prosody, we cannot but express wonder that a man of Etienne's extensive classical reading should show so little taste, introducing purely Greek words such as *doxa* and *polis*, archaic forms as *itiner* and *iteris*, and such puns[3] as his play on the words *Calixtus* and *calices* in lines 1437, 8, on p. 646. It is curious too that Etienne's comrades, in a house which was a school of secular learning of the highest class, should not have kept him by friendly criticism from such a distich as,

Hæc pater Innocuus componit, judicat, urget,
Lites, facta, modum, fœdere, jure, fide.[4]

This must of course be read *Innocentius papa componit lites fœdere, &c.*, but when we have interpreted it

[1] p. 708.
[2] p. 726, *l.* 415.
[3] See also p. 711, *ll.* 3–8.
[4] p. 651, *ll.* 1556, 1557.

we find neither thought, beauty of sound, nor aptness of expression.

The historical aspect.

The historical aspect of the poem must now be considered, and our first duty is to indicate the sources from which the earlier details it contains were derived. It is by this process of sifting and washing that we reach the historian's golden grains—the new facts which his author records.

Large portions of the poem derived from Dudo of St. Quentin, William of Jumiéges, and Robert of Torigni's life of Henry I.

That Etienne used the chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin, and William of Jumiéges is an assertion which scarcely requires support; but, if such a passage as the account of the siege of Luna by Hastings[1] (pp. 633-4) is not held to be sufficiently convincing, the words:—

. . . . . Dani sumus, agminis hujus
Dux ego, ...[2]

and the line,

"North" Boreas, "man" homo, Danica lingua sapit.[3]

will assuredly on comparison with Dudo (Duchesne, p. 76 D.) and W. of Jumiéges (p. 218 B.) be found conclusive.

It is not here worth while to treat as distinct works the chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin and William of Jumiéges, and the continuation of the latter as a life of Henry I. by R. of Torigni. For our present limited purpose we shall regard them simply as the *corpus historicum* which forms the early part of Duchesne's collection.

The history of the settlement of the Normans in Neustria not being of primary interest to English students, that portion of the *Draco* which deals with the matter[4] may be succinctly treated. Whether Dudo was an annalist or a fabulist is also a question we do

[1] I have followed Sir F. Palgrave's spelling of this name, using also his guidance in more important matters. See note [1] on p. xix.

[2] p. 625, *l.* 915.

[3] p. 631, *l.* 1052.

[4] p. 613, *l.* 575, to p. 638, *l.* 1240.

not intend to consider here.[1] Nine-tenths, nay more, of the 900 lines of the *Draco* which touch on early Norman History are simply transcribed into verse (with occasional errors) from William of Jumiéges, but there is a residue of considerable interest. From line 647 to line 898 (pp. 617–624) we have an account of Rollo's approach to, and occupation of, Rouen wholly different from that given by Duchesne's chroniclers, the Vedastine annalist, and by Wace.

The *Draco* furnishes a new account of Rollo's capture of Rouen.

Etienne tells us, that Rollo with a chosen band invaded France, and, beginning by burning Nantes, went on to devastate Brittany.

Returning laden with booty to his fleet, he approached Anjou. Here he was withstood by three leaders, apparently in one battle; but gaining the day he took Angers and burned it. Poitiers, Limoges, and Noyon were successively sacked, and then the wild band assailed Orleans. This fair city they burned; but, for some reason not stated, they spared the cathedral.[2] Then Rollo left his fleet on the Loire, and organising his force as a land army, fought a battle with the troops of the French king.[3] After that, taking again to the water, he entered the Seine,[4] landed, marched on Beauvais, and returned with the spoils of that city to his fleet.[5] Thence he pressed on to Rouen.

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[1] This is written with a full knowledge of the contents of Mr. H. H. Howorth's paper in the *Archæologia*, xlv., pp. 235–250 (1880). Mr. Howorth does not mention the *Draco*.

[2] Thus far there are suspicious similarities to the story told by the chroniclers as to the ravages of Hastings; but there are touches, such as the mention of a battle against three leaders, and the circumstance of the sparing of Orleans cathedral, which redeem the credit of Etienne's story as the independent narrative of a man who had sources of information now lost. The same cities were pillaged twice or thrice by the pirates, so the list of places sacked by different leaders may be very much alike and yet authentic.

[3] Erroneously stated to be *Carolus Simplex*.

[4] *l.* 763.

[5] *l.* 767.

With some of his followers he passed under the bridge,[1] which was manned by the citizens; but finding the ground unsuited to his plan of attack, he repassed and landed on the western meadows.[2] These, Etienne says, were up to his own times called by a name which bore record of that day of battle.[3] Rollo, perceiving that his fleet had obtained complete command of the river, was giving orders for a general attack when suddenly a band of young men sallied forth from the city.[4] The Norman leader at once saw an easy road to victory, and ordered his men gradually to hem in the citizens.[5] A separate combat was proceeding at the bridge,[6] no doubt as a diversion; but the main design of Rollo was now to turn the imprudent sally to the best account.

The furious attack of the Danes pressed back the citizen-soldiers; and then, before the gates could close on the fugitives, Rollo was inside the walls.[7] The news of his entrance caused resistance elsewhere to collapse, and Rollo found Rouen at his feet. His design was to conquer for occupation, not for destruction, and by his command no slaughter or plundering ensued. The city simply changed rulers from that day.

Immediately after this important event ensued, according to Etienne, the well-known parley with Ragnald and Hastings, the Danish count of Chartres, and in due sequence the battles which William of Jumièges describes. To the words of the chronicler at this point Etienne adds but two touches; in one place we learn that in the second battle Rollo's men were posted on a height,[8] and in another[9] that Dudo's mysterious *piscator Sequanæ* killed Ragnald as he was crossing to an island—possibly in the man's boat.

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[1] *l.* 827.
[2] *l.* 840.
[3] *l.* 846.
[4] *l.* 867.
[5] *l.* 871.
[6] *l.* 879.
[7] *l.* 883.
[8] *l.* 964.
[9] *l.* 989.

Here then we have definite additions to our knowledge of a very dark historic page. What was the source of this information? Was it Benoit de S. Maur's lost Latin Chronicle, or was it local tradition? Whatever origin we may suppose, we must admit that we have a clear and intelligible account which there is no valid reason for doubting.

Use made by Etienne de Rouen of the *Chronicon Beccense.*

A fourth source of information used by Etienne was of course the *Chronicon Beccense.* Robert of Torigni also employed this; but, until Dachery's text has been edited, and carefully compared with the Vatican MS. Reg. 499, it cannot be very safely used.[1] Still we are certain that Etienne drew from it, for, though he relates things which he saw with his own eyes, he obviously has referred for the following passage (see p. 716) to the chronicle then growing year by year in the Bec *scriptorium*:—

Anno quo moritur tria signa stupenda coruscant,
  Portentum superum, sed latet istud adhuc.
Parisius juxta metuenda cometa refulsit,
  Martius hanc fudit, belliger ipse deus.
Circulus æthereus solem circa radiavit
  Maximus, hunc mensis Cæsaris ipse dedit.
Nocte sub umbrifera monstratur luna cruenta,
  Septimus a Martis turbine mensis erat.

The *Chronicon Beccense* (Migne, tom. 150, col. 654) is the prose foundation of this:—

Nota quod anno obitus nobilissimæ Matildis imperatricis tria signa in cœlo visa sunt; nam mense Martio cometa in Gallia apparuit; mense Julio circulus æthereus circa solem resplenduit; mense postea Septembri media nocte, luna tota sanguinea diutius visa est, regibus Angliæ et Franciæ post Pascha sequens ad se invicem discordantibus.

References in the poem to

A fifth work, mentioned as well as used in the poem, is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Gesta Regum Britanniæ.*

[1] I have not yet been able to see the edition in the series of the Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous history.

The prophecy of Merlin too is constantly quoted in the early part of the *Draco*. Queen Eleanor is everywhere the "aquila rupti fœderis,"[1] her sons are the "catuli leonis";[2] but, as these allusions are sufficiently pointed out in foot-notes, they may here be passed over. Later in the poem, however, we have by a bold stretch of poetic license a correspondence between count Roland of Dinan, king Arthur, "qui tunc apud Antipodes degebat," and king Henry II. In the course of this correspondence, Arthur recites his exploits, and describes his battle with Lucius Hiberius.[3] The bulk of this is from Geoffrey of Monmouth, but not the whole; and the additions are curious. First, we have the introduction of Morgana (the "Morgan le Fay" of Malory) as the sister under whose care Arthur passes to Avallon; secondly, we have fully expressed ideas of the earthly immortality, and of the Return of Arthur; and thirdly, Arthur is presented to us, as M. Gaston Paris remarks, as an Armorican, rather than as a British king.

Peculiar treatment of the Arthurian legend.

That Arthur should exhibit anger at the acquisition of Armorica by a sovereign, who, though not a British monarch, ruled over Britain, might seem strange from the standpoint of Geoffrey of Monmouth; but, if Arthur were really a Breton king, swelled by fable first into a king of England, and then into a universal conqueror, it would be natural for him to be represented as showing such feelings. In these matters we have an interesting trace of the genuine Arthurian Legend from which Geoffrey of Monmouth undoubtedly drew very much. This, however, not being safely within the range of sober history, must be dismissed after remarking one further point of interest, which is, that Etienne after all has but a playful belief in his Arthur. When Henry reads

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[1] p. 603, *l.* 297, &c.

[2] p. 607, *l.* 421, &c.

[3] Not *Tiberius*, as in Geoffrey. Alured of Beverley writes *Hiberus*. M. Gaston Paris thinks *Hiberius* the true reading.

the threatening letter of the shadowy king, his remarks on it to his nobles are introduced by the line,

Subridens sociis, nil pavefactus, ait.

Again, Henry only answers for the sake of not letting the old king feel himself despised :—

Ne se contemni reputet, nunc scripta remittam,
Mitior is forsan vi rationis erit.

Use made of Robert of Torigni's chronicle.

As a monk of Bec, our author must have been personally acquainted with Robert of Torigni, better known and more generally referred to as Robertus de Monte; and that abbot Robert's chronicle should have been freely used by Etienne is natural and also obvious. As, however, in this case the separation of new facts from old is not so easy, the task must be deferred until we consider Etienne's delineation of his own times. We will, therefore, pass on to the other chroniclers whose materials can be detected in the poem.

Passages borrowed from Eginhard's Life of Charlemagne.

Eginhard's famous life of Charlemagne is one of these. The contrasted passages in note 3 on p. 664, will place this fact beyond dispute; and we may dismiss the matter by saying, that Etienne de Rouen has not ventured to insert any original information as to the Merovingian or Carlovingian sovereigns. Lastly, there remains a thread of what, looking backwards from modern days, we may call true French history.

Information as to the kings of France derived by Etienne de Rouen from the *Abbreviatio Gestorum Franciæ Regum.*

This we have left till the last, as the reasoning by which we hope to demonstrate which particular chronicle Etienne chiefly used for this part of his poem, will lead to a substantial confirmation of many of the assertions already made.

There is now extant a 12th century catalogue of the library of Bec, which may be read in one of the Abbé Migne's volumes.[1]

One entry in this list is as follows :—

"*In uno volumine,* Historiæ Normannorum, lib. VII., vide-

[1] Tom. 150, col. 776, &c.: from the Avranches MS. of R. of Torigni.

"licet ab adventu Hastingi in regnum Francorum us-
"que ad mortem primi Henrici, regis Anglorum et
"ducis Normannorum. *Item*, Vita Caroli Magni impe-
"ratoris Romanorum et regis Francorum. *Item*, Vita
"Alexandri Magni regis Macedonum. *Item*, epistola
"ejusdem de situ Indiæ ad Aristotilem magistrum
"suum. *Item*, Abbreviatio regum Franciæ gestorum
"ab egressione eorum a Sicambria usque ad princi-
"pium regni Ludovici junioris, regis Francorum.
"*Item*, Historiarum de regibus majoris Britanniæ usque
"ad adventum Anglorum in insulam, libri XII., in
"quorum septimo continentur prophetiæ Merlini, non
"Silvestris, sed alterius, id est, Merlini Ambrosii.
"*Item*, exceptiones ex libro Gildæ Sapientis historio-
"graphi Britonum, quem composuit de vastatione gen-
"tis suæ et de mirabilibus Britanniæ."

The first item in this comprehensive MS. is plainly the chronicle of William of Jumiéges; the second is Eginhard's life of Charlemagne; the third may be the absurd history of Alexander written by Julius Valerius; the fourth is an anonymous chronicle we hope to identify; the fifth, Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous history; the sixth, no doubt Nennius.[1] Our anonymous chronicle, then, is an abbreviated history, from the early tribal times of the Franks to A.D. 1137.

In Bouquet's grand collection we find an "*Abbrevi-*" "*atio gestorum Franciæ regum ab origine regni ad*" "*annum Christi* 1137." This seems as though it might be the chronicle we are seeking. Let us try the question of identity by a delicate test — community of *error*. On p. 650 of the *Draco*, *l.* 1536, Etienne tells us that at the time Philip, son of Louis le Gros, was killed in the streets of Paris, pope Innocent was holding a council *in that city*. Now, from Suger and other authorities, it is abundantly certain

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[1] Etienne makes the usual blunder, and refers to this as the work of Gildas. See p. 704, *l.* 1179.

that Innocent held the council at *Rheims*, and that he there anointed Louis le Jeune in the presence of the assembled prelates. Turning to the chronicle in Bouquet's edition (xii. 67), we read:—

> Philippus vero, patre vivente, unctus est in regem *civitate*[1] Remis; sed non multo post *urbe*[1] Parisius de equo corruens mortuus est, et in ecclesia S. Dionysii sepultus est. Item eodem anno unctus est frater ejus Ludovicus in regem in *urbe*[1] supradicta ab Innocentio papa II., cum ibi teneret consilium.

Another error, adopted by Etienne from the same source, is his statement that Hugh Capet reigned for eleven years. Here, then, we certainly have the origin of another considerable portion of the "*Draco*."

The "*Abbreviatio*" may also be referred to in Pertz, ix. pp. 395–406, where it is printed in full under the title, "*Historia Regum Francorum monasterii sancti* "*Dionysii*,"[2] from a MS. at Brussels and another at Berne, collated with Bouquet's edition of MS. St. Victor 419.[3] We have, however, preferred to quote this chronicle under the name by which our author knew it.

Thus we have identified Etienne's principal storehouse of early mediæval history. He borrowed this book, it would seem, from the *armarius*, and kept it in his cell with Robert of Torigni's chronicle; and having close at hand the domestic chronicle of his own abbey, he com-

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[1] The italics in these three places are mine, and are intended to indicate the probable source of Etienne's mistake. Had the chronicler written, "in *civitate* supradicta," the error would probably not have occurred.

[2] It begins thus: Anthenor et alii profugi ab excidio Troiæ, Asia pervagata, Frigeque rege facto et cum suis inter Macedones remanente, transactis Meothidis paludibus, in finibus Pannoniæ ædificavere civitatem nomine Sicambriam.

[3] Afterwards *St. Victor.* 287, a 15th cent. MS. It is observable that MS. Bibl. du Roi, No. 5997 (xiii. cent.), contains W. of Jumiéges, Eginhard, and the "*Abbreviatio*." Other MSS. are Bibl. du Roi, 5999, 4937, 4938; Lugdunensis, Lat. No. 20; Bernensis, No. 90 (xii. cent.); and the Brussels MS.

piled from these materials by far the greater part of his poem.

Etienne's facts as to the Frankish sovereigns derived from the *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

To these authorities our author has, there is little doubt, added the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, which we find in the second volume of Bouquet's collection (p. 542, &c.). From this he assuredly derived much of the early traditional history of the Franks which we find in the poem at pp. 610–613 and on p. 673; but, as is not unfrequently the case, he has blundered in using his materials. He had at hand, as we know,[1] the *Historia Gregorii Turonensis de Gestis Francorum*, though he does not seem to have consulted it. This is not surprising, for a writer who alludes to Curtius,[2] but uses Julius Valerius, must have had an affectionate preference for unsound guides.

All then that can be traced to these works is borrowed matter, while most of the residue is original. Of course there are minor sources from which other facts have been taken. The story of the dispute between Lanfranc and Thomas of York, for example, comes from the letters of the great prelate, which were in a volume in the Bec library; and the facts as to the papal schism of 1159 were no doubt drawn from current documents similar to, if not the same as, those we see in Baronius. But these details were used with the advantage of much living knowledge. Then there are Abbo's life of St. Edmund the Martyr and other lives of saints, which every monk would have at hand; and if we add to these certain classical and semi-classical authors, Cæsar, Vegetius,[3] and others, we are in reasonably full possession of Etienne de Rouen's literary materials.

Miscellaneous sources of information: Lives of the Saints, and the writings of classical authors.

[1] Catalogue of Bec Abbey Library, Migne, tom. 150, col. 777.

[2] p. 679, *l.* 517.

[3] The task of tracing out allusions to ancient history and classical authors has been only partially undertaken; and, perhaps, might without failure in duty have been entirely neglected.

It would be wearisome to pursue the matter more closely, and we must therefore at once address ourselves to the task of showing what new lights our author gives us as to the events of his day.

Historical value of the *Draco Normannicus.*

It is our duty to fulfil the same task retrospectively with regard to William of Newburgh's history for the same period, and prospectively for the chronicle of Robert of Torigni,[1] and this duty unfortunately involves nothing less arduous than an attempt to compile a concordance of the chronicles of England from A.D. 1153 to the beginning of A.D. 1169, a period from which many prudent historians divert their readers' attention by writing exclusively about Thomas Becket.

Historical facts contributed by William of Newburgh, Etienne de Rouen, and R. of Torigni.

In the preface to a volume like the present, certain bare facts of history may be dryly given, but interpretation and philosophical treatment must be shunned. In dealing, too, with this period it is an editor's duty to indicate, but not discuss, constitutional points, and the present editor has also felt it incumbent on him to suppress, as far as possible, all mention of the martyred archbishop.

A sketch of a concordance of existing chronicles for the period A.D. 1153 to 1169.

A.D. 1153.

Late in the year 1153 the unendurable strife which began in 1138 had come to an end. The church had proffered its assistance at a favourable moment, and had successfully mediated between the contending parties. The time was opportune, for the fiery spirit of Eustace had just passed from the scene of action ; and with his death had disappeared two principal elements of the great contention—his own fiercely urged family claims, and the interests of the royal house of France. These interests were two-fold, including hopes of the elevation of a French princess to the throne of England, and no less earnest wishes for the humiliation of a rising prince,

[1] It is proposed to add R. of Torigni's chronicle to the series of twelfth century histories which I am at present editing.

A.D. 1153. who had already by war and policy mastered two-thirds of the sea-board of France. Peace was confirmed by a great council on the 7th of November 1153; and, on the 13th of the following January, prince William
A.D. 1154. and the nobles of both parties swore fealty to Henry at Oxford, reserving their duty to Stephen for the remainder of his life. If we may trust Hoveden, Henry took up during the remainder of his stay in England the position of justiciary; and there is much in that monarch's later life to lead us to suppose that he had at some time seen the practical administrative side of the law to a greater extent than would be possible for a king, even at this early date. Very shortly after the oaths of fealty had been taken, Stephen and Henry met at Dunstable to treat further as to the affairs of the kingdom.[1] Much had been done by Stephen in the way of destroying the adulterine castles, yet not enough to please his designated successor.

A little of Stephen's old weakness here appears for the last time. He hesitated to act harshly towards his original adherents; and, contrary to agreement,[2] spared some of their strongholds. This seemed to Henry a reservation made with an eye to contingencies, and not the action of a man who intended to do right although warped by a fear of displeasing.[3]

The duke stated his views modestly; but, receiving a rebuff, wisely deferred the matter, for the sake of peace, to a more convenient season. The next fact that we have about Henry is, that, in company with the king, he was received, during the Lenten fast of 1154, by the clergy of Canterbury in solemn procession.[4]

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[1] H. Hunt., 290.

[2] R. de Torigni confirms Gervase as to destruction having been agreed on. It was not covenanted by the treaty as given in the Fœdera, i. 18, from the *Lib. Rub. Scacc.*, but probably by a secret instrument.

[3] H. Hunt., 290, "vel versutia parcens."

[4] Gerv. i., 158.

From that city, still in company with the king, he went to Dover to meet count Thierry of Flanders and the countess Sibylla, his own aunt; and after the meeting both king and duke returned to Canterbury. A.D. 1154.

A conspiracy had, however, been hatching in the meantime—probably on the march. The Flemish mercenaries, whose trade was war, and who saw in treaties and the levelling of castles nothing else than a destruction of their chances of profit, had evidently whispered evil suggestions in the ear of the young prince fresh from swearing fealty to the duke of Normandy as his father's successor.[1]

The death of Henry had been decided on, when suddenly the plans of the conspirators were disturbed by an accident to their principal partisan—the one whom they no doubt regarded as their shield from that retribution which the essentially knightly king would surely have meted out to them. Riding over Barham Down, prince William's horse fell, breaking his rider's leg between knee and ancle.

In those days such an injury was not seldom the cause of death; and the conspirators must have reflected that, unless William lived, it would be but lost labour to slay his only possible substitute as heir to the crown. How Henry detected the plot does not appear.

Possibly the young prince, placed in such peril, gave the hint on which Henry acted. William was carried to Canterbury, and Henry went thither too, as to a recognised place of safety. As soon as he could, however, Henry left Canterbury and pressed on through Rochester to London, where he took ship for Normandy about the 4th of April,[2] nor did he ever see Stephen's face again.

There was much for him to do in Normandy, and he there tried the experiment, afterwards successfully

[1] Gerv. i., 158.

[2] R. of Torigni (Pertz, vi. 503).

A.D. 1154. repeated in England, of recovering demesne lands which had been wastefully granted away, in this case by his father, through the necessities of war. The grants were "temporary," abbot Robert tells us; but in this word we should read the apology of a personal friend for high-handed acts which could not be directly justified. No reasoning could show that Stephen's grants as well as those of Maud were invalid. Unquestionably the gifts of the empress could not be so viewed by her son, yet both classes alike were resumed by Henry on the plea of expediency. Certainly when we think of the iniquitous proceedings of Richard 40 years later, on his return from Palestine, we trace a common nature in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *leo justitiæ* and in his *catuli leonis*.

Having finished this work, Henry passed into Aquitaine and quelled an insurrection. Next we find him on the 24th of June, 1154, back at Rouen with his mother, confirming his friend Robert of Torigni in the abbacy of Mont-Saint-Michel. In the following August he concluded an arrangement with Louis VII. by which he recovered Vernon and Neufmarché in return for the sum of 2,000 marks. Then he appears to have fallen dangerously ill, but by the 1st of October to have recovered so far as to be able to march with an army, at the request of Louis, into the Vexin. There he made peace between his suzerain and Goscelin Crispin, and returning besieged for nearly 15 days the castle of Torigni, which Richard, son of the count of Vernon, held against him.

The stronghold had been surrendered,[1] and its commander had been taken into favour again, when Henry unexpectedly received information of the death of Stephen.

[1] R. of Torigni, p. 503; *Chron. S. Albini Andegav.*, Bouquet, xii., 482.

That monarch, after bidding farewell to his destined successor, had at once pursued his covenanted task of restoring a state of order in the kingdom ; and he appears to have had, though a brief, yet an almost uninterrupted course of success in his honest endeavours. The adulterine castles melted away before his face, William of Newburgh says, like wax before a fire; and thus, burning and destroying the strongholds of robbers, he worked his way north as far as Yorkshire. Here a sturdy baron, Philip of Colville, stood out in Drake castle against his now lawful lord, refusing to render the place up for destruction. The king cannot have made his royal progress with any considerable body of troops, for Newburgh tells us that, when he received the baron's refusal, he collected the forces of the county and stormed the castle. A.D. 1154.

The point is significant, for it shows how very soon after the peace of November 1153 Stephen held full possession of the moral, as well as of the material, forces of royalty.

It was harvest time, Newburgh says, and the king, having finished his work in Yorkshire, retired south in order to meet a great council of the realm summoned to assemble in London, at Michaelmas, to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and to arrange for the filling of the vacant see of York.

At this council, by the friendly collusion of Stephen and archbishop Theobald, Roger of Pont l'Evêque was chosen, and the primate further consented to perform the consecration of the northern metropolitan, not as archbishop, but in his separate capacity of papal legate.[1] A far more important step, simple as it must have seemed in the year 1154, was taken as a consequence

[1] Newburgh, p. 95.

A.D. 1154. of the promotion. The archdeaconry of Canterbury was given to "Thomas of London."[1]

Death of King Stephen.

When the council broke up Stephen traversed Kent to meet once more the count of Flanders.[2] Immediately after the meeting the king fell ill, and died in the abbey of St. Martin at Dover, on the 25th of October. His body was laid beside those of his wife and son in the monastery which the brave queen had built at Faversham.

Previously, when a king died, and notably so when Stephen's predecessor passed away, his peace died with him, and a brief reign of terror ensued. In this case, if aught was attempted, the strength and wisdom of archbishop Theobald at once quelled the beginnings of mischief, for all the chroniclers are agreed in saying, that, during the five or six weeks which elapsed before Henry was able to cross the sea, the realm was perfectly tranquil, though full of soldiers and "Flemish wolves."

Why Henry should have remained so long away is a question the chroniclers answer variously. Newburgh, more reliable in general statements than in minute details, states that he was besieging a castle, whereas Gervase and Huntingdon agree more nearly with Robert of Torigni, whose knowledge on this point is more likely to be accurate. From these latter authorities it would appear that the siege of Torigni-sur-Vire was over before the great news arrived;[3] that Henry then

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[1] Gervase, i., 159. Becket's biographers pretend that at this date Roger was his enemy. The action of Theobald here in the simultaneous promotion of the two men is worthy of notice. It is much more likely that the enmity began when both were archbishops, and arose from the ancient rivalry of the sees of York and Canterbury. See the *Draco Norm.*, p. 744.

[2] Gerv., i., 159.

[3] The Black Book of the Chapter of Bayeux (n. 7 and 26) gives a charter of Henry: "coram me in "exercitu Torigneii."

held a conference with his mother and brothers, and with the bishops and barons of Normandy; and that, leaving his mother as regent, he proceeded to Barfleur. Here contrary winds detained him a whole month,[1] and it was not until the 8th of December, that, accompanied by his brothers and many nobles, and a large force, he succeeded, though his fleet was scattered, in landing close to the New Forest.[2] A.D. 1154.

The dates are a little discrepant at this point, for, while Robert of Torigni places the king's departure on the 25th of November, Gervase speaks of his arrival on the 8th of December, an impossibly long passage, even for stormy weather and contrary winds. He waited to collect his armed retinue, and then pressed on to the royal city of Winchester, meeting the nobles who flocked thither to proffer their fealty. Thence he naturally rode on to London. There, in the Confessor's abbey, he was unanimously elected king, and, together with his queen, was duly anointed by archbishop Theobald.

Robert of Torigni says that the coronation took place on Sunday the 20th, whereas Sunday fell on the 19th of December. Gervase and the Melrose chronicler agree in saying, on the Sunday before Christmas Day, the former adding, wrongly, that the ceremony took place on the 17th of December. Etienne de Rouen too is apparently under a wrong impression, though he perhaps[3] only means to say that Henry and Eleanor wore their crowns in London at Christmas-tide.

A brilliant throng was present at the ceremony. Among the most notable on abbot Robert's list are

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[1] M. Delisle, in his edition of R. of Torigni, notes that during this detention Henry did justice in the case of the nuns of Ronceray d'Angers, "apud Barbiflodium . . " . . Illic enim iter suum parabat " ad transfretandum in Angliam, " ad suscipiendam coronam." Bibl. Nat. Par., Collect. Housseau, V., n. 1773.

[2] Huntingdon says in the New Forest: Gervase gives Hostreham, but that is in Normandy.

[3] p. 605, *l.* 361.

A.D. 1154. the great prelates, Henry of Winchester and Hugh of Rouen; Arnulf, the eloquent bishop of Lisieux, and Thierry, count of Flanders, of whose friendly relations with Henry the accounts of the exchequer contain many evidences. Immediately after the coronation an important step was taken. By the advice of Theobald, "Thomas of London," who had only the year before been made archdeacon of Canterbury, became chancellor of the realm. Doubts have been bandied on this question; yet Gervase must have known the truth. Not only does the Pipe Roll for the year extending from September, 1155, to Michaelmas, 1156, give a curt, cold, irrefutable entry as to "Thomas cancellarius," but the chronicle of Battle abbey affords still better testimony on the point; for on p. 74 we find that the charters of Battle were discussed at Lambeth, in the Lent of 1155 by the archbishop, *the chancellor*, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, and others; and, on p. 96, we find bishop Hilary addressing the king, and referring to his own presence at the meeting in question "cum cancellario " vestro domino Thoma."

An historical account of these years too easily degenerates into a biography of Becket. His is a name which must necessarily occur and recur in any sketch which could be offered; but here we must strive rather to avoid than to introduce his overbearing personality. Resuming our account then, we may observe, that either the eagerness of the Canterbury chronicler, or the exactness of his chronology, places the elevation of Becket between the coronation of the 19th of December, and the holding of the king's first court at Bermondsey on Christmas Day. Probably this was the case. If so it is likely, that at this parliament of the realm the new dignitary was officially recognised and installed in his high office. Peace, to be attained by various methods, and the ruined revenues of the crown, to be recruited by strenuous efforts,—these were the topics for discussion; and the

latter is one which alone would make it probable that a chancellor whom Henry could trust must have been appointed then and there. A.D. 1154.

He had other affairs on hand more pressing than even the collection of money. That could be delegated to an astute man of business; but there was work in view which, while it would incidentally help the royal revenues greatly, formed a needful preliminary to all other forms of reconstruction. Peace must be obtained by the sword. Curiously enough the pens of all the chroniclers fall first on the name of the old Flemish wolf, William of Ypres, marking his expulsion as almost the earliest idea of the new king. The career of this fierce forerunner of the Montreals and Hawkwoods of later days must tempt us to no digression, unless for a moment, to the touching scene of late repentance, when the old soldier of fortune laid aside his armour and found peace in the cloister. Not only did William of Ypres, in the double seclusion of the monastery and of total blindness, find peace himself; but, in the significant words of the chronicler of his native city, he gave peace to the times in which he lived by the withdrawal of his turbulent spirit.[1] A.D. 1155.

The rest of the savage hirelings either withdrew or settled down peacefully in the country, transformed from wolves into sheep, as Newburgh tells us.[2] A few were, it is said, utilised by the keen new ruler, who sent them to match other wolves in south-western Wales.[3] The castles of the robber barons, except a small number retained by the king, or given over by him to safe custodians, were razed. This destruction Henry supervised in person, as he passed through the west of England, and northwards as far as York. No doubt on this journey he began the resumption of the lands indiscriminately granted away from the crown to which

[1] He died in 1162.

[2] p. 102.

[3] Dr. Powell's "Historie of Cambria," p. 205. I do not trace the fact in his authority, John Castor's Chron. (Harl. 641), but the "*Brut*" and the Pipe Rolls strongly suggest it.

A.D. 1155. we have already alluded, and initiated a series of acts of restitution to families unjustly dispossessed. Alarmed by the royal progress, the criminal William Peverel fled to a monastery, and was tonsured; but, as Henry began to return southwards through Nottinghamshire, in February, the wretch, feeling uneasy even in the cloister, disappeared, leaving all his castles at the mercy of the king. While in Yorkshire Henry had received the submission of the great baron William of Albemarle, who, as Newburgh tells us, had been for many years more king than earl in the shire, and who now was compelled to surrender his great stronghold at Scarborough. In the midst of all this urgent business the welcome news came that queen Eleanor had given birth, in London, to a son, whom Theobald baptised by the name of Henry. The king summoned the barons of the realm to[1] London in Lent, and renewed the old laws and customs of the realm. At this council, too, he held a day of reckoning with those who boldly detained castles which he deemed to be within his own rights. Alarmed for his possessions, Roger of Hereford fled from the court to Gloucester, and listening to Hugh Mortimer and other traitors, both English and Welsh, fortified the city against the king. Happily a wiser counsellor was at hand in the person of his relative, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, and it was to the moral force of his prudent words that the earl submitted, on March 13.[2] The chief of the earl's evil counsellors was more obdurate, and Henry found himself obliged a little later to take Cleobury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth[3] by siege. This was the only act of

[1] *Chron. Monasterii de Bello*, p. 72.

[2] Gervase is here followed. R. de Torigni represents this as happening after the council at Wallingford.

[3] At the siege of Bridgenorth Henry's life was saved by Hubert de Clare's self-sacrifice. *Contin. chron. Radulphi Nigri*, p. 170. Both Roger and Hugh were old allies of the empress.

war needed to put Henry in full possession of his rights on the English side of the Channel. A.D. 1155.

One of his first measures had been to appoint justiciaries, as Newburgh tells us, in all parts of the country. No doubt by these general words the chronicler means to intimate that, with Becket's active co-operation, he organised the almost combined system of justice and fiscal administration of which the first of an unbroken series of Pipe Rolls[1] is the still existent witness. This was, of course, not the work of a day, and though it must chronologically belong to the year 1155, we can only conjecture, from the characters of the two fellow-labourers, that it began early in the year.

After Easter, the precise day being April 10, a great council was held at Wallingford. There oaths were taken to secure the due hereditary rights of the infant princes, William and Henry, and there, according to Robert of Torigni, Roger of Gloucester made his peace with the king, probably as a formal public act, his virtual submission having occurred earlier in the year.

Here, too, the same chronicler places the traitorous conduct of Mortimer. In this he is confirmed by the Battle annalist (p. 75), who says that after the surrender of the rebels' fortresses the king summoned a great council for the 7th of July,[2] at Bridgenorth, and that there the rebel made his formal peace with his king.

There is now a space of about three months during which we lose the thread of events, but about Michaelmas we find Henry holding a council at Winchester, and consulting his nobles as to the conquest of Ireland, which he seems to have desired to give to his youngest brother William, no doubt on terms of homage.[3] He

[1] The Roll said to be the account for 31 Hen. I. is here set aside as doubtful.

[2] R. of Torigni assents to this date.

[3] R. of Tor., p. 505.

A.D. 1155. desisted, abbot Robert [1] tells us, for a time, as the project was unpleasing to the empress; but the circumstance, little noticed as it is, may be found important in connexion with one of the most interesting points in the *Draco Normannicus*.[2]

We shall soon have to mention Henry's far different relations with his other brother, Geoffrey, but here we must note, as a sign of sincere brotherly affection for William, the circumstance that the king should have planned the conquest, going so far as to obtain, through John of Salisbury,[3] the pope's sanction [4] for the enterprise, and should have designed that his brother should have the solid advantages of it, he himself apparently retaining nothing more tangible than regal honours. Something further of significance happened at this council, for Henry of Blois, in whose city it had been held, sent a large sum of money over to France by the hands of the abbot of Clugny, and then secretly left the kingdom. In consequence of this act, king Henry ordered six [5] of the bishop's castles to be destroyed. That they were actually levelled about this time is certain, for an entry in the Pipe Roll (2 Hen. II.) relates to the work of destruction. The chronicle of Clugny [6] professes that the great prelate was invited by the abbot, and by letters from pope Adrian and king Louis. It appears that his wealth relieved the abbey from debt,[7] but no reliable hint of the reason of his flight is given.

At Christmas in this year [8] Henry held another great council in Westminster, and having settled his affairs,

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[1] "Quod quia matri ejus imperatrici non placuit, intermissa "est ad tempus illa expeditio."

[2] See p. 676.

[3] *Metalog.*, iv., 42.

[4] Diceto, i. 300, and Girald. Cambr., *De expugnatione Hib.*, ii. cap. v., give the Bull "*Laudabiliter.*" The former places it under the year 1154.

[5] *Annal. Wigorn.*, 380.

[6] Bouquet, xii. 315.

[7] See also *Chron. Gaufr. Vosiensis*, Bouquet, xii. p. 438.

[8] *Chron. Mon. de Bello*, p. 76.

he, on the 4th of January 1156, embarked at Dover and crossed to Witsand. On the 2nd of February he was at Rouen, and before the 9th he held a conference with Louis on the confines of Normandy. At this meeting, if we may trust Hoveden, whose date, however, is clearly wrong, king Henry did homage to Louis for all his continental dominions, perhaps in accordance with a conditional promise he had made by letter.[1] On his return to Rouen he received a visit from Thierry of Flanders and his countess, Sibylla of Anjou. Nothing appears as to the object of the visit; still the existence of most friendly terms is evidenced by many entries in the current Pipe Roll relating to gifts and lands in England belonging to Thierry, perhaps in right of his Angevin wife.[2] A.D. 1156.

It is of more importance that prince Geoffrey was present, and that, refusing Henry's offers, he left for Anjou, and was promptly followed by the king. These are the scanty words which Robert of Torigni's courtly spirit permitted his pen to record; but William of Newburgh affords us fuller explanations.[3] When the old count, Geoffrey of Anjou, was dying, he arranged that his son Henry should hold Normandy until he should obtain the English crown, and that, in the meanwhile, his second son, Geoffrey, should hold Chinon and two other castles. When, however, Henry should become king of England, Geoffrey should succeed him as duke of Normandy.

Henry was absent from his father's death-bed, but the clergy had been charged to obtain his assent on oath, and they did so by the familiar ecclesiastical device of deferring the burial of the father. When Henry obtained the crown he likewise obtained the pope's absolution from an oath sworn under duresse; and Geoffrey, angered by this cruel injustice, retired to Chinon, and began to stir up rebellion. He had

[1] Duchesne, iv. Ep., 58.
[2] Cf. Fœdera, i. 22.
[3] p. 113.

A.D. 1156. offered to surrender all fortresses, and to give hostages, if he might only have that which his father had bequeathed to him; but his offers were not accepted, and he went to the king of France to beg help.[1] Louis had been pacified by Henry's homage, and thus the war proceeded between the two brothers alone. Thomas, the chancellor, lending his aid to the king, Geoffrey's castles were reduced, and in July a reconciliation was effected on the terms that the prince should possess a simple estate and a pension.[2] He did not stay long in this condition of humiliation, for the citizens of Nantes, who about the 6th of January had dismissed their count, Hoel, accepted Geoffrey as their ruler before the 14th of February 1157.[3] Henry no doubt approved this step. At least he afterwards turned it to his own advantage, for, on Geoffrey's death, in 1158, he claimed and obtained the city as his brother's heir, forcing Conan, earl of Richmond, to give it up.[4] There is a story that Geoffrey had endeavoured to intercept and to marry Eleanor as she was returning to her own dominions immediately after her divorce. Certain it is that in June 1152 he conspired with prince Eustace and others against his elder brother. These circumstances fully explain the mutual grudges between Henry and Geoffrey, and show why Ireland was reserved for a loyal and affectionate brother, who appears to have been entirely ignored in his father's will.

We next find the king at Saumur shortly after the 29th of August,[5] and when still abroad, about November the 11th, he was visited by Hilary of Chichester. This may have been while he was at Limoges, for Richard of Poitou (Bouquet, xii. 417) tells us that, about November the 11th, Henry caused the walls of the city to be destroyed.[6] The chronicler adds that, having passed Christmas-tide at Bordeaux, and having made peace

[1] *Ep. Joh. Sarisb.*, 128.

[2] The Chronicle of *St. Albini Andegav.* (Bouquet, xii. 482) asserts that Loudun was restored to him.

[3] *Chr. Britt.* (Bouq., xii. 560).

[4] Newburgh, p. 114.

[5] *Chr. M. de Bello*, 76.

[6] The *Chron. Gaufr. Vosiensis*

with his Gascon nobles, the king returned to England, and proceeded to reduce the Welsh to submission. A.D. 1156.

From the Pipe Roll we find that Henry received this year an embassy from Norway, perhaps the envoys whom Becket entertained;[1] that the queen's sister, Petronilla, and her illegitimate brothers, Joscelin and William of Poitou, received gifts from the English Exchequer; and that the town and castle of Bedford were traitorously held against the king.

After the 7th of April, in the year 1157, Henry crossed from Barfleur to Southampton, and passed on direct to London. The precise order of the events which followed is to some degree a matter for conjecture; still it is possible that geographical sequence may guide us aright. From London he went on to Richard de Luci's castle at Ongar, and when there arranged to meet the abbot of Battle at Bury St. Edmund's, expressing his intention of being crowned at that place. Thither, as the Pipe Roll tells us, his crown was carried; and there, on the 19th of May, he was crowned.[2] Again the abbot's cause was postponed till the king should reach Colchester, which he did on the 23rd of May, staying there until the 28th of the same month. He now, that is about the 24th of June, began to prepare his expedition into Wales, professedly to reconcile two Welsh princes, and summoned three knights where formerly two had been required. Leading this army across England, he next appears holding a council at Northampton, settling the affairs of the realm, and bringing an ecclesiastical dispute to an end on the 17th of July. From Northampton he pressed on to Chester, where A.D. 1157.

(Bouquet, xii. 438) assigns this destruction to an earlier, though not a precise date. R. of Poitou says, "biennio postquam adeptus "est regnum Angliæ."

[1] *Mat. Hist. Thom. Becket*, iii. 26.

[2] Thierry of Flanders and his wife, Henry's aunt, left for Jerusalem on the 15th of May, 1157, leaving their son Philip and all

A.D. 1157. Malcolm, king of Scotland,[1] met him, and, "salvis "omnibus dignitatibus suis," became his man, surrendering the three northernmost counties of England, with other possessions, including Lothian, which David, king of Scots, had induced Henry to permit him to occupy many years previously. William of Mortain and Hugh Bigod were also forced to make sacrifices.

From Chester the passage of the army into Flint shire seems to follow naturally: and it was in the pass of Consilt, in this county, that the unlucky reverse was sustained which sullied the hard-earned honours of Henry of Essex. The fortune of the day was, however, restored by Henry's coolness. His good strategy in planning a second invasion by sea brought the Welsh "reguli"[2] to terms, and from this time there appear entries on the Exchequer Rolls[3] as to king Owen's hostages. Henry's true military instincts led him to seize the opportunity for making a future inroad more easy by cutting down forests and making roads, no less than by building fortresses at Rhuddlan and Basingwerk. On his return from Wales he appears to have spent some time in the Peak and Nottinghamshire with Malcolm.[4] This seems to show that Malcolm had been with him in Wales.

In September the queen gave birth at Oxford[5] to prince Richard; and in this year the royal pair lost their first-born son, prince William. We learn the bare facts that a new coinage was issued this year, and that some moneyers were seized and punished,[6] but we are

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their domains in Henry's care. Thierry returned in 1159, *Lamb. Waterlos.*

[1] *Chron. Mailr.*, 76.

[2] Newburgh, 108.

[3] Pipe Roll, 4 H. 2. [Sept. 1157 to Sept. 1158]. The *Ann. de Margan*, p. 15, say, "Facti sunt amici "Henricus rex et Oweyn de "Wallia."

[4] Pipe R., p. 90.

[5] *Contin. Flor. Wigorn.*, p. 137. Tradition says, in what is now Beaumont Street.

[6] *Ann. Winton.*, 56: *Ann. Wav.*, 238.

left to barren speculation as to the nature of Henry's communications with the king of Sweden, which are evidenced by the accounts of the Exchequer. We have also a letter of empty compliment from Henry to Barbarossa preserved in Muratori's collection (vi. 744), but it has no direct interest. A.D. 1157.

The last act of the year 1157 was the coronation at Wikeford outside the walls of Lincoln; but what happened in the early months of 1158 we do not know. A fourth and final coronation of king and queen took place on the 20th of April at Worcester; and then until the 24th of June the record is blank. On that day Henry knighted Stephen's son, William, at Carlisle; and he would have performed the same act for Malcolm of Scotland, had not some difference sprung up which caused them to part. It must have been while in this part of the kingdom that Henry made peace with Rhys, one of the Welsh princes, for the annals of Tewkesbury[1] speak in the same sentence of this peace, of Henry's crossing to the Continent, and also of the death of Geoffrey. Following partially the *Contin. Beccensis*[2] of Robert of Torigni's chronicle, we must say that Geoffrey died on the 26th of July, and was buried at Nantes; and that Henry, anxious to profit by his brother's death, crossed the sea on the 14th of August, and had an interview with Louis on the 22nd or 31st near Gisors. On this occasion the marriage of the infants Henry and Richard with Margaret and Alais[3] was arranged, the Vexin being given, as it were, into the hands of trustees during the nonage of the elder couple. This done, Henry went to Argentan, and there, on the 8th of September, summoned his Norman forces to assemble at Avranches by Michaelmas, to attack Conan, count of Brittany, if he should refuse to sur- A.D. 1158.

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[1] p. 48. The *Contin. Beccen.* of R. of Torigni does the same.

[2] *Contin. Beccensis*, in Delisle's ed. of R. of Torigni, ii. p. 166.

[3] R. of Torigni, p. 507; R. Hoveden, i. 218.

A.D. 1158. render Nantes—a step which Henry's confiscation of his earldom of Richmond perhaps almost compelled him to take. In September, on Louis's invitation, Henry ventured to Paris, and was splendidly received; and on the following day the two kings returned together as far as Mantes, Henry taking the infant Margaret away with him into Normandy, and placing her in the care of Robert de Neufbourg. During this time the diplomatic talents of Becket had been employed in arranging that Henry might enter Brittany as seneschal[1] of France, and quell the existing disturbances between Conan and Eudo; and Gervase remarks the simplicity shown by the French king in assenting to such an arrangement. Conan, however, showed his prudence by attending Henry at Avranches on the 29th of September, and surrendering Nantes and the earldom of Maine. It might scarcely be just to say that he thus obtained a decision against Eudo.

After feasting with his friend and chronicler, the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, Henry marked out a new fortress at Pontorson, and started with a body of troops to take possession of Nantes. From the 7th to the 10th of October apparently he was in Poitou, hard at work before Thouars. His immense army of course prevailed, and the walls were levelled; but the cause of offence is not known.[2] Then after a short interval Henry went to meet Louis coming from Le Mans, and the two monarchs bent their steps by Passy, Evreux, Neufbourg, and Bec, to Mont-Saint-Michel, this time on a religious errand. They reached the object of their pilgrimage on the 23rd of November, and were received by a procession of clergy and crowds of the common people. They returned to Avranches after mass, and Louis, loaded with costly gifts, was again conducted by way of Bayeux, Caen, and Rouen to the frontier.

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[1] His office as count of Anjou.

[2] *Chron. S. Albini Andegav.* (Bouquet, xii. 482).

The friendship of the kings had a further and a final manifestation, for Louis used his good offices to induce Theobald of Blois and Rotrou, count of Perche, to surrender Amboise, Fréteval, Molines, and Bons-Moulins, Rotrou receiving the castle of Belesme on terms of homage. The year ended peacefully, Eleanor joining Henry at Cherbourg for the Christmas festival. A.D. 1158.

Among the miscellaneous events of the year we may note that, on the 23rd of September, the royal family was increased by another son, Geoffrey, and that the faithful evidence of the exchequer accounts tells us of embassies from the emperor of Germany and the king of Jerusalem. It was either in the February of this year or of the next that pope Adrian wrote to Louis to dissuade him from the project of a joint crusade with Henry against the Spanish Moors.[1]

The first event of the eventful year 1159 seems to have been a meeting at Blaye between Henry and Raymond, king, in everything but name, of Aragon. They arranged that prince Richard should in due time marry the Spanish princess, Petronilla, and become duke of Aquitaine, this being, of course, if Hoveden is right, a breach of the compact already made with Louis. That there was another stipulation we are sure, for from William of Newburgh[2] we know that Raymond was present in the ensuing war. A.D. 1159.

About the 25th of February Henry met his nobles at Poitiers to discuss the approaching expedition against Toulouse, the claims to which city, left it is said, in the hands of the count of Saint Gilles merely as an unredeemed pledge, had passed to Henry by right of his wife. On this occasion scutage was adopted as a

[1] Ep. Adriani, 76, Duchesne, iv.
[2] p. 125. M. Delisle (R. of Torig. p. 325) notes a charter, dated 14 July, 1159, in which Raymond-Béranger refers to the army he is about to join.

A.D. 1159. commutation for personal service in the case of all except tenants *in capite.* This simple device has often been spoken of as a deeply laid scheme for the enervation and ultimate humiliation of the baronage. Probably the foresight of the deviser did not extend beyond the fact that an army for a lengthened campaign could be held together by wages far more easily than by the limited claims of feudal service. The actual effects of the new plan were certainly wider and deeper, but any consideration of them must be left to philosophical historians. Our present concern is with bare facts and their chronological sequence, not with their significance.

The count of Saint Gilles had married Constance, the French king's sister, and this connexion gave him confidence for the struggle. Louis, desiring peace, met Henry at Tours; but, failing to arrange the matter, the English king summoned his men to assemble at Poitiers on the 24th of June.[1] The levies were from England, Normandy, Le Mans, Anjou, Aquitaine, Gascony, and, notably, from Brittany. It is observable that though Henry held a vast sum in his hands and hired large bodies of troops, no Flemish mercenaries are mentioned. His rule was to use Welsh against the French, and Flemings and Aragonese[2] against the Welsh. While the preparations were in progress we find Henry spending three days, from the 21st to the 23rd of May, at Bec, returning from thence to Rouen. From the 6th to the 8th of June the kings were again in conference, both on the subject of the marriage treaty of their children and on the less satis-

[1] This is according to the *Contin. Beccen.* of R. of Torigni. The other MSS. say towards the middle of Lent. That would be about April the 22nd. The chronicler, Richard of Poitou (Bouquet xii. 417), states that the order for assembling went forth in the middle of Lent.

[2] *See* note [5] on p. lxvii.

factory one of Toulouse. Certainly on the latter topic they came to no terms. A.D. 1159.

On the 16th of June Henry's great feudatory, Malcolm, sailed across with forty-five ships, was honourably received at Poitiers, and was knighted[1] on the 30th of June at Périgueux. A certain Welsh king, too, added his forces to those of Henry, but neither his name nor the date of his joining appears. The list of auxiliaries concludes with the name of a powerful noble, Raymond Trencavel, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, who, according to Newburgh,[2] marched with the English king.

The vast army was in motion shortly after the 24th of June, and captured Cahors on its way. Nevertheless Louis still made efforts to obtain terms for his brother-in-law, and met Henry on the 6th of the following month. Failing in his diplomacy, Louis threw himself into Toulouse. The duration of operations, for there was no real siege, is uncertain. The *Continuatio Beccensis* of Robert of Torigni says that Henry had so much money that he might have provisioned the whole of his immense army until the feast of All Saints. Gervase, who clearly had the same information, but misunderstood it, says that Henry besieged Toulouse from the 24th of June to the feast of All Saints. Certainly, if we follow Robert of Torigni, we must understand that Henry took Cahors and occupied the greater part of the province of Toulouse, but hesitated to sit down before the capital. Etienne de Rouen drew much information from abbot Robert, but the great facts of 1159 must have been perfectly well known to a man writing in the year

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[1] *Gaufr. Vosiensis*, Bouquet, xii., 439. The *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 76, says at Tours when returning. His brother William seems to have been with him, *Jordan Fantosme*, *l.* 1259.

[2] p. 125.

A.D. 1159. 1168; and it is thus a valuable confirmation of the Norman chronicler to read in the *Draco Normannicus* that Henry held back from motives of feudal respect. William of Newburgh,[1] too, whose narrative about this point has curious traces in suspicious consonance with abbot Robert's story, says that for the reason mentioned Henry deferred the siege, but took to ravaging the province. About this time he was found by Richard d'Anisty[2] at Auvillar, on the Garonne.

One outcome of these operations was the hostility of the king of France, who was destined to feel acutely the evil results of his own good acts. Count Theobald of Blois, whom he had reconciled to Henry, was despatched by the latter to act as leader in the war already begun on the Norman frontier; but Henry, bishop of Beauvais, and Robert of Dreux retaliated, and the attack degenerated into an obscure border warfare.

In September[3] Henry began his return journey. He not only fortified Cahors and entrusted it to Becket, but placed garrisons in other captured fortresses. These he left under the surveillance of Raymond of Barcelona, William of Montpellier, and Raymond Trencavel.

To Trencavel, Newburgh[4] tells us, he restored certain towns that the count of Saint Gilles had taken from him by arms. The remainder of the army, or more probably the bulk of the army, was dismissed; and Henry, taking his way through Userche in company with Malcolm, reached Limoges about the 29th of September.[5] It was on the road back that William of Boulogne, king Stephen's son, closed his life, and

[1] p. 125. Bernard Gui makes a similar statement: Becket advised an assault.

[2] Palgrave's "Commonwealth," ii. p. xv.

[3] R. of Torigni says October, but Geoffrey de Vigeois has more detailed information as to the return.

[4] p. 126.

[5] *Gaufr. Vosiensis*, Bouquet, xii. 439.

Henry, ever watchful for opportunities, kept the possessions of the childless earl.[1] A.D. 1159.

When again in Normandy Henry stirred actively the embers of the border warfare which count Theobald had left smouldering. He rebuilt Estrepagni, invaded the Beauvoisis in force, and almost completed the destruction of Gerberoi. Far worse than this was the arrangement by which, about the 11th of November, Simon, count of Evreux, admitted Henry's garrisons to Rochfort, Montfort, Epernon, and other strongholds, which flanked dangerously the direct communication between Paris and Orleans by way of Etampes. This move brought Louis to terms, and a truce was arranged, to last from December until the 22nd of May in the following year.

We must now make a short digression in favour of a subject to which we shall soon have to recur, remarking that on the 30th of August Henry lost his friend the English pope, Adrian IV. This was more than an ordinary loss, for on the 7th of September the conclave terminated in the appearance of rival popes. Roland, who was called Alexander III., had received a large majority of votes; but he, as his opponents allege, having refused the office, Octavian, known as pope Victor, was chosen in his stead. His own account of the matter, and also that of his opponent, is clearly set forth in the *Draco Normannicus* (pp. 724–753), with many interesting hints and a very stringent commentary on the iniquitous proceedings which had thus left the Church in a state of divided allegiance. The Italian side of the question, and the reprehensible conduct of Barbarossa, are no concern of ours; but the condition of affairs which resulted in archbishop Hugh of Rouen[2] openly and the bishops of Winchester and

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[1] Hamo of Gloucester also succumbed, *Ch. Mailr.* 168.

[2] *Draco Norm.*, Lib. iii., *ll.* 445 and 889. Fitzstephen (V. S. T. C. i. 194) asserts that Hugh of Rouen accepted Alexander.

A.D. 1159 Durham[1] secretly espousing the cause of Victor, and in the archbishop of York and the majority of the English clergy, including John of Salisbury, siding with Alexander III., is one which must have been fraught with political danger.

The traces of unchronicled events in this year derivable from the Pipe Roll are the mention of an embassy from Norway and some signs of the continued restlessness of the Welsh, such as the strengthening of Cairmerdin castle, and the payments to foreign mercenaries, "Coterells," who garrisoned Carlecoel.

The last facts which the Saint-Michel chronicler contributes here are, that Henry and Eleanor were at Falaise at Christmas-tide, and that the queen sailed for England after the festival. The Bec continuation of the abbot's chronicle adds some regulations issued by the king respecting the administration of the law in England.

A gleam of light is afforded by the same MS. as to the condition of England at this period, and it reveals a weak spot in the clumsy police system of the times. A previously unheard of species of robber began to infest the country. Dressed up as monks these men joined travellers, and when they reached the spot where their accomplices were in ambush they gave a signal and, turning on the deluded wayfarers, robbed and murdered them. Craftiness and organisation seem at this date to have paralysed local efforts even in London, as may be seen by Benedict of Peterborough's account of the twelfth-century "Mohocks" under the year 1177.[2]

A.D. 1160. The earliest known event of 1160 is the illness of the empress Maud, who appears to have been at this time and for the remainder of her days the private adviser of her royal son. Her influence is described

[1] *Epp. Joh. Sarisb.* Ed. Giles, i. 70.

[2] i. 155.

as paramount by Etienne de Rouen,[1] who could not mislead us on this point through lack of knowledge. A.D. 1160.

The truce with king Louis, which would have expired on the 22nd of May in this year, was enlarged into a treaty of peace ; former treaties were revived ; and a reconciliation of all parties concerned in the recent strife was effected, for the time, no doubt, in all sincerity.[2]

About this time Henry arranged the marriage of his cousin Matthew of Flanders with Stephen's only surviving legitimate descendant, the abbess of Rumsey. The house of Flanders thus obtained full rights to the county of Boulogne, a circumstance which cannot have been pleasing to the French king.

In the month of July the question of the papal schism came forward for settlement, in so far, that is, as it concerned the two kingdoms. Henry assembled a great council at Neufmarché, Louis had a similar meeting at Beauvais, and archbishop Theobald held another in London, the result being that both nations espoused the cause of Alexander. There was also a joint council later, to which reference must now be made, because we are here encountered by one of the chronological problems of this difficult period. Was this conference the "council of Toulouse" which Labbe places in 1161? Probably it should be called the "second council of "Beauvais," but let us examine the evidence, and first of all the evidence as to the date.

Two of Alexander's legates, Henry of Pisa and William of Pavia, who were present at the "council of Tou-"louse," had apparently entered the king's domains before the 2nd of November 1160 ;[3] but it was on that day that the deadly quarrel between the two kings began, and up to the autumn of 1161 there was open war ; also

[1] *Draco Norm.*, p. 708.

[2] R. of Torigni, p. 511.

[3] Diceto, i. 304.

A.D. 1160. there is no evidence that Henry journeyed from Fréteval in Beauce, where peace was made, to so distant a place as Toulouse.

The meeting must thus have been either before November 1160 or very late in 1161, if it happened in that year at all. Taking another point of view, it is certain that after the decision of the council of Pavia (Feb. 1160) Alexander would press for recognition; and in William of Newburgh's chronicle we actually find the narrative flow on from the assembly at Pavia to that at "Toulouse."[1] From Newburgh it appears that the two kings listened to a debate in which the cardinals Guido of Crema and John of St. Martin supported the cause of Victor against Henry of Pisa and William of Pavia, the two legates referred to above, who joined with John of Naples in successfully defending Alexander. Of this the *Draco Normannicus* affords confirmation. Referring obviously to this same council, Etienne says:—

Sed per legatos proprios hos prævenit alter,
  Legistrisque favent rhetoricisque tubis.
Nam simul hi veniunt cum regibus, altus et ipse
  Clerus adest, populi conflua turba venit:
Hinc Papiæ geniti Willelmi lingua perorat
  Causam, qui fluvius eloquiique nitor.[2]

Taking all these circumstances in connexion with the assertion of Gervase and Diceto, that the two kings recognised Alexander as pope in 1160, we should have reason enough for rejecting Labbe's date; but we can do more when we read the circumstantial account of the council by Lambert de Waterloo,[3] who dates it "prope "festum B. M. Magdalenæ" (July 22) in the year 1160. We can thus say with some confidence that the great

[1] Newburgh, p. 120, does not name the place at which it was held; but the details he gives identify the council with the one described by abbot Fastrade (Labbe, xxii. 1155). *See* note [1] on p. liii.

[2] p. 726, *ll.* 423 to 428.

[3] Bouquet, xiii. p. 518.

conference was held in the same year and month as the separate councils. A.D. 1160.

As regards place, we have it from Gerhohus Reicherspergensis that the two kings met at *Toulouse.* Lambert de Waterloo says in "Belmaro." Any one acquainted with mediæval MSS. will assent to *Belviaro* as a probable reading of the name thus printed, and this is a near approach to *Belviaco,* Beauvais, where Louis had held his own national council. Again, Toulouse, as we have seen, would be a marvellously strange place in which to find king Henry the Second at this date. Probably, then, we shall be right in saying that the meeting was at Beauvais about the 22nd of July 1160.[1]

In September Eleanor, at the king's request, brought over her children, Henry and Matilda, from England; and in October the kings had a conference and confirmed the existing peace, the little prince doing homage to Louis for Normandy.

A few days after, on the 13th of November, Louis, who had been a widower but a very brief space, married again. Chagrin at this event caused Henry to precipitate the marriage of his son with the child Margaret, a step to which pope Alexander's emissaries, Henry of Pisa and William of Pavia, consented; and the ceremony having been performed on the 2nd of November at Neufbourg,[2] Henry received from the Templars,[3] in whose keeping they were, the strong castles of Gisors, Néaufle, and Châteauneuf. The French were justly incensed against Henry and the Templars;[4]

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[1] Labbe, xxii., 1155, prints a letter (undated) from Fastrade, abbot of Clairvaulx, giving an account of the discussion, from which it appears that the kings of England, France, and *Spain* were present. Labbe places all three of the meetings (at Neufmarché, Beauvais, and "Toulouse") under 1161, giving no authority for his dates, two of which are clearly wrong. Martin, *Hist. de Fr.*, iv. 479, follows Labbe's errors.

[2] Diceto, i. 303.

[3] W. of Newburgh, p. 159.

[4] Hoveden, i. 218, gives their names.

A.D. 1162. About the 8th of April Alexander III., driven from Italy, sailed from Apulia to France, and landing near Montpellier was received with great honour. The author of the *Draco Normannicus* here makes a curious mistake, saying: "*transactis Alpibus . . . Gallica regna* "*venit,*" (p. 740); but he narrates a further matter about which he must have had good information, viz., a systematic taxation of the clergy of the two nations enforced by the pope for the alleviation of his own needs.

Etienne quotes the bold opinion of archbishop Hugh of Rouen as to this proceeding:—

> Dedignatur in his Rodomensis maximus Hugo,
> Dicit inauditum criminis esse genus.

A great famine and mortality, we may note, prevailed in the West about this time, but especially in Aquitaine.[1] About this time also Mohammed-ben-Mardenisch, the Mahometan prince of Valencia and Murcia, sent horses and camels to Henry, with presents of gold, silk, and precious wares, a curious evidence of the East in the heart of the West, which reminds us of the days of Charlemagne.

Louis had intended to hold a conference with the German emperor early in September,[2] but differences on the papal question prevented any meeting, and the French king about the end of the month [2] met Henry and pope Alexander at Chouzé-sur-Loire, where the two monarchs in rival humility led the pontiff on horseback to the tent prepared for him. The influence of Alexander was of course in favour of peace between his two great supporters, and it would thus have been

[1] R. of Torigni states (i.) that in the July of this year the King took John de Dol's castle from R. de Fougères; and (ii.) that there was a shower of blood at Retz. He repeats these statements with slight differences under the year 1164. The witness of the MSS. seems rather in favour of the later date.

[2] M. Delisle (ed. of R. of Torigni, p. 341, note 5, and p. 342, note 1) gives the evidence for these dates. *See* Jaffé, 7222, and John of Peterborough, p. 79.

easy for Henry to leave, as he desired, for England. A.D. 1162.
Contrary winds, however, detained him, and he spent Christmas-tide at Cherbourg with Eleanor.

The year thus ending concluded the first marked period of Henry's reign—the period of rising influence and consolidated power. All was to change quickly from this point—the point at which Becket became a Churchman in earnest. It is very remarkable to watch a man so capable as Henry repeating in different modes one essential form of mistake—creating for himself rivals whom he soon found it necessary to crush.

A single unnoticed entry in the Pipe Roll of this date will appear a text pregnant with meaning in this connexion, and will speak to us eloquently of the elevation which precedes a fall. It occurs in the Roll for 1161–62:—

Et in perdonis per breve Archiepiscopi Waltero filio Warini j. m.[1]

No such entry had ever before appeared in the Exchequer accounts, nor was the precedent followed for several years. The queen up to this time had alone been held competent to take the king's place in this important prerogative.

In January 1163 Henry, though ominous prophecies to A.D. 1163.
the contrary were current,[2] crossed safely to England, and was received by his nobles on the 25th of the same month at Southampton with great joy. The young prince Henry had been sent over a little earlier, and had received the homage of the nobles of England, as he had already received that of the nobles of Normandy. On the 3rd [3] and on 8th of March there were

[1] This does not seem to have been noticed by Madox. The first instance he cites of allowances made by writ or award of the Chief Justiciar, or other great officer, is from the Roll of the 12th Henry II., four years later than the case I have quoted. There are two other entries on the Roll for 8th Hen. II. which show the perilous height to which Becket had climbed.

[2] Diceto, i. 308 ; Herb. Bosham, p. 86.

[3] Palgrave, "Commonwealth," ii. xxii.

A.D. 1163. councils in London, and on Palm Sunday, March the 17th, Henry was present at a procession of the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury.

On the 31st of March Henry was at Windsor, and the quarrel which led to the judicial duel between Henry de Essex and Robert de Montfort there came under his consideration. The combat took place before the king at Reading, and resulted in the defeat of the former, who was by the king's clemency allowed to retire to Reading abbey. Details of this affair may be read in Jocelin de Brakelond's amusing pages.[1] When all was settled Henry went on to Wallingford, and, perhaps, to Woodstock.[2]

A second invasion of Wales was led by the king, probably about the month of June. Many entries in the Pipe Rolls for this and succeeding years show that Henry condescended to hire Flemish mercenaries[3] for use against the Welsh. He certainly did so on this expedition, which was directed against Rhys, and which entered Wales by sea from the coast of Glamorgan, penetrated into Caermarthenshire as far as Pencadair, and returned by way of Radnor.[4] Rhys made peace, however, so no blood was shed; and he came to England with Henry,[5] and

[1] Camden Soc., pp. 50–52. John of Salisbury (ed. Giles, ep. 145) tells us that de Montfort, as a preliminary, kept watch before the altar of St. Drausius at Soissons.

[2] These facts as to Henry's journeyings are derived from the statement of that most patient of justice-seekers, Richard de Anesty, which is preserved in the Public Record Office, and has been printed by Sir F. Palgrave (Commonwealth, ii. p. xii.)

[3] Et Willelmo Cade C. li. ad adducend. servientes de Flandria. In liberat. j. milit. et ccc. et x. servient. Et Walens. de Blancmonasterio L. li. xiij. s. et viij.d. In liberatione militum et servientium in exercitu de Wallia lxx.li. ix.s. j.d. These entries taken *separately* do not justify the expression used in the text. We know from the *Annal. Cambriæ*, that Flemings were used to garrison the Welsh castles. Cf. *Contin. Chron. Rad. Nigri.*, p. 170, *sub. ann.* 1165.

[4] Giraldus, *Itin. Camb.* (Rolls ed., vi. 137–8).

[5] *Annal. Cambriæ* (Rolls ed., p. 49).

was present at Woodstock during the visit of Malcolm king of Scotland. The latter, after doing homage on the 1st of July at Woodstock to Henry and his eldest son, gave his younger brother and some young nobles as hostages for peace and for the castles which he wished Henry to hand over to him. He fell ill at Doncaster whether in coming or returning does not certainly appear; but Henry visited York this year, possibly to meet him. On this same occasion Henry and his son received the homage of Rhys, and of Owen, king of North Wales, as well as the homage of many of the Welsh nobles,[1] thus completing the circle of feudal obligations for the entirety of Henry's domains. A.D. 1163.

On the 19th of May, pope Alexander held a Council at Tours, at which Becket was present. This is one of the great themes of the chroniclers; and Newburgh presents us with the decrees of the Council at length.[2] Here, too, we derive a little information from William of Newburgh, and much from the *Draco Normannicus*, which is not elsewhere to be found. The former tells us of Becket's secret resignation of his archbishopric into the hands of pope Alexander, and of its restoration with the special sanction which this course implied. Canon Robertson expresses doubts as to this circumstance; but it cannot be said to be intrinsically improbable.[3] The most curious facts, however, are brought out by Etienne de Rouen. In the course of describing the preliminary sermons which were preached by pope Alexander, by William of Pavia, Henry of Pisa, Hugh of Rouen, and Roger of York, our versifier indulges in a spiteful couplet respecting Becket:—

> Hic siluit Thomas, antistes Canturiensis
> Ut minus edoctus verba Latina loqui.[4]

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[1] Diceto, i. 311. As to Owen, *see* M.H.T.B. v., p. 49.

[2] p. 136.

[3] Of course it *seems* like a confused version of that which took place later at Sens.

[4] p. 744.

A.D. 1163. He nowhere treats the prelate fairly, but there is some reason to think that, while the insinuation of faulty scholarship may have been true, there was a personal peculiarity which perhaps kept Becket silent, as it has kept many others. Becket, one of the Thomas Sagas[1] tells us, had an impediment in his speech. Arnulf of Lisieux certainly had nothing of the kind, for the reverend assembly had literally to put a violent end to his discourse. Etienne says:—

Sed fluvius torrens, emergens fontis ab imo,
Vix reprimi valuit vocibus atque manu.

Arnulf, in a letter preserved by Labbe,[2] says that he stopped because his audience could not hear him well enough. He would have been more ingenuous, as now appears, if he had said that this was through cries and clapping of hands. After this undignified episode, serious work began. Roger of York, said to have been an old foe of the primate, made, as we learn for the first time from the *Draco Normannicus*, a formal appeal against the superiority of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, thus renewing the strife which Lanfranc believed himself to have fought out in 1070. Several days were absorbed in the tedious discussion, in which,

Se Dorobernensi Thomæ proponit ubique,
Verbis, ingenio, culmine, sede, loco.[3]

The assembly was fairly wearied out, and the pope stopped the debate. By seating the two prelates in precisely equal positions,[4] he contrived to defer any decision, and was enabled to proceed to his own affairs and the excommunication of Octavian. Here, then, we have a clear and credible cause for the enmity between the English archbishops which the biographers of Becket

[1] More strictly one of the "Homiletic Abstracts." See *Thomas Saga Erkibyskups*, ii., p. lvii.

[2] xxii. col. 1167.

[3] p. 746.

[4] Diceto, i. 310, asserts that he put Thomas on his right, and Roger on his left, but says not a word as to the controversy.

allege began in a different way, and at a much earlier date.[1] A.D. 1163.

In another part of the *Draco*[2] we have other matters, belonging at the latest to the year 1163, which are important enough to warrant a detailed account. It was known before we possessed Etienne de Rouen's poem that Becket had opposed, on the ground of consanguinity, the marriage with the countess Warrenne, upon which William, the king's brother, had set his heart; and we knew, too, from Fitzstephen, that the murderer, Le Breton, had cried out, as he struck at Becket, "Take "that for love of my lord William, the king's brother"; but the significance of all this appears to have been overlooked. We now have an interpretation, on the testimony of one who, well known as he was to the empress Maud, and living as he did at Bec, must certainly have known the truth. There was a general ill-feeling, Etienne tells us, between prince William and Becket[3]; and the primate declined to sanction the marriage. William in wrath crossed over to Normandy to his mother, who was then living at the monastery of Notre-Dame-des-Prés, close to Rouen. He acquainted her with the facts; and then, going to Bec, put himself under the care of the monks. Here the young prince fell ill and died,[4] leaving his body to Herluin's abbey. He was, notwithstanding his express desire, buried in S. Mary's, Rouen; and some monk of Bec was apparently so fortunate as to be favoured with a vision[5] in which the poor young prince bewailed the disregard shewn to his last wishes. The king, who, as we saw, had years before designed to conquer Ireland for his brother, grieved over his loss

[1] Grim, S. T. C., 10; Roger of Pontigny, 99. It is remarkable that R. of Torigni records nothing happening after May 19 in this year. His silences are instructive.

[2] p. 676.

[3] p. 676, *l.* 441.

[4] At Rouen, *R. of Torig.*

[5] p. 676, *l.* 451.

A.D. 1163. and openly attributed William's death to the cruel disappointment he had suffered at Becket's hands:—

> Causatur præsul, necis hujus causa notatur;
> Regia mens illi nota fit, inde timet.

Prince William died on the 30th of January 1164, so we may safely place the acute stage of this affair in 1163; how early in that year we cannot say, but certainly after July, as Becket, according to Gervase, returned about that time from Tours. Before this date there is not a fragment of evidence worthy of the name to show any disagreement between Becket and his master. One chronicler sees coolness of manner[1] where another sees cordiality.[2] A third sees dislike masked by cordiality.[3] All these wrote after the martyrdom, while Etienne de Rouen never knew of it, and consequently had no superinduced respect for Becket. Thus, though he writes with marvellous acerbity, we feel secure in the evidence of a man who knew the truth, and wrote for people who knew it as well as, or better than, he did himself. Could he dare to falsify the current facts of his day? Could he be so bold as to misrepresent in writing the currently-received opinions of the great house of Bec Herluin?[4] Prince William sickened and died at Bec, as we have seen, and his mother resided with, and was the patroness of those monks from the great abbey who dwelt at Notre-Dame-des-Prés, the cell to Bec Herluin which Henry her father had built.

Certainly then we have the truth: possibly we have revealed to us the head-spring of the Becket quarrel. A man in Becket's position has many foes, and many circumstances will happen in so complex a life which might be selected as causes for a king's anger. Here, however, we have one of a personally irritating charac-

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[1] Diceto, i. 308.

[2] Herb. Bos., M. H. T. B. iii. 255.

[3] *Anon. Lambeth*, M. H. T. B. iv. 92.

[4] Prose may be intended for posterity: poetry seeks early approbation, and so is read by an author's associates.

ter, the refusal to obtain, nay actual opposition to, the requisite dispensation for the marriage of the king's brother. This clearly would vex the empress as well as Henry himself. One notable ground of possible offence, the resignation of the chancellorship, preceded this affair, and others, particularly the actions of Becket at the Westminster council in October, occurred later; but up to the probable date[1] of Becket's malign behaviour to William there was no visible sign of the king's anger. A.D. 1163.

On the 1st of October in this year the council of Westminster was nominally held to settle the dispute as to precedence still raging between the two archbishops; but the king, suddenly changing the direction of the proceedings, assailed the unfortunate Becket.[2]

We must interpolate here the translation of St. Edward, which the Bermondsey annals date on the 13th of October 1164. Herbert of Bosham, too, says that the ceremony took place in the same year as the dedication of St. Mary's, Reading; but the Waverley, Winchester, and other chronicles place it under 1163. Certainly if the translation took place on the 13th of October 1164, Becket could not have been present, but his presence is indisputable, and on the 1st of October 1163 he was also indubitably in Westminster.

The biographers of the archbishop alone give us traces of the king's movements just at this time—the only secular facts recorded—and we see him moving to Northampton, and from thence to Gloucester, and going on to his favourite palace at Woodstock.[3] [4]

[1] The countess became a widow as early as the end of 1159, and it is reasonable to suppose that the advantages of the match were soon apparent. Nothing could be more natural than the supposition, though there is no evidence for it, that Becket was charged to settle the matter with the pope at Tours, in May, and that he purposely failed in his duty.

[2] *Vit. S. Thom. Cant.* (Giles, ii. 251).

[3] R. of Pontigny, ed. Giles, pp. 117, 120, 122.

[4] Diceto, i. 311, notes a general inquest into tenures in this year.

A.D. 1164. The opening event of the year 1164 was the council of Clarendon. Its results are too famous to require notice in a sketch like the present, which only seeks to outline events comparatively little known. On the 30th of January prince William, as we have already seen, died at Bec: and the fact of his death being announced to the king after the enraging incidents at Clarendon, and being, as we know, connected in his mind with Becket's misconduct, the results must have been signally unfavourable to the archbishop, whom the king by this time had obviously made up his mind to humble by whatever means he could legally employ.

We hear of the king incidentally at Porchester and Woodstock,[1] and at Easter (April 12) in London.[2] About the 19th of April we find him at Reading, when Becket[3] dedicated the church of St. Mary. Probably a short time after this event the king's natural brother, earl Hamelin, married the countess of Warrenne; still the deadly enmity shown by Becket to the earl at Northampton may well have been aroused by general causes, plentiful at the time, and not by Hamelin's marriage.

Abbot Robert, who alone among the chroniclers is able at this date to write of anyone or anything but Becket, next records the death of the antipope, Victor, an event which was not without its effect on English history. If the abbot's arrangement of facts is here as carefully chronological as usual, we must place the Welsh revolt about July. Rhys was enraged by Henry's non-fulfilment of promises, and by Roger de Clare's favourable reception of the slayer of Rhys' own nephew. Accordingly he began by molesting the earl. Then the flame of insurrection spread, and the Welsh as one nation threw off the yoke,[4] infesting as usual the bor-

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[1] R. Pont., S. T. C. i. 128; Fitz-Stephen, i. 218.

[2] Pipe R., 10 H. II., "ad conduc. "archam thri. ad Pasca de Wint. ad "Lund." Elsewhere, "ad Por-"cestr."

[3] *Annal. Winton.*, p. 57; Herb. Bosham, 97.

[4] *Annal. Cambr.*, p. 49.

der counties of England.[1] Henry would seem to have deferred active measures in Wales, though he was at Gloucester and then at Worcester about this time, according to the Becket letters (v. 117), and the Pipe Roll, and was sending a stern reply to the rebels. A.D. 1164.

An incident in Brittany is noticed by Robert of Torigni which has considerable significance in relation to future events. Henry, appealed to by Conan to assist against Eudo and Ralph de Fougères, sent orders to his constable, Richard de Humez, who took possession of the castle of Combourg[2] for the king in the month of August, the fortress having until then been in the hands of Ralph de Fougères, who held it after the death of John de Dol.

Next we hear of Henry at Northampton on the 29th of September.[3] Here he held the famous council which, began on the 6th of October. At this meeting Henry issued notice to his feudatories to send him soldiers for the Welsh war of the coming year.[4] For the rest we are overwhelmed with Becket's history, to which subject Etienne de Rouen contributes a directly criminal charge:—

Annis is fuerat paucis a rege secundus,
  Regia dum recipit æra, reservat, habet.
Terrarum census ratione rex sibi poscit
  Solvere, sed summam sufficit ille minus.

. . . .

Quod latet in fundo recitet, quod prædia regis
  Detraxit, rapuit, dulcia quæque tulit.[5]

What the truth on this point was, who can say? Certainly Becket's costly mode of living, which his very foolish biographers colour perhaps too highly, would be in itself a cause of suspicion. In ranks of life far below those of kings and chancellors a master is

[1] Newburgh, p. 145.

[2] Ille-et-Vilaine, arrond. de Saint Malo.

[3] Pipe Roll., "ad portand. arcam "thri. ad fest. Sci. Mich. . . . ad "North."

[4] FitzStephen, M.H.T.B. iii. p.70.

[5] p. 741.

A.D. 1165. accustomed to regard his servant's extravagance as a sign of doubtful honesty. Becket's plea of discharge, too, is a technical, not an essential, reply to accusations which Henry must surely have believed. Etienne's words show that the monks of Bec thought with their king on the point; and that Henry should have disbelieved the charge he made is scarcely an opinion to be entertained. Whatever the objective truth may have been, the subjective honesty of the angry king is scarcely in question. Becket, like his master, was one of pope Alexander's supporters, and Etienne, who shows himself the partisan of Victor,[1] might at an earlier date have been prejudiced by this circumstance; but, at the time at which he wrote, the antipope was dead, and Etienne apparently had only a formal respect for his impudent successors, Paschal and Calixtus.

From Fitzstephen (i. 242) it appears that Henry was at Marlborough on Christmas Eve transacting business.

A.D. 1165. The earliest known event of the year 1165 is the king's journey to Normandy before Lent. He was at Mortemer on the 17th of February,[2] and his conference with Louis was held at Gisors on the 11th of April. This conference was brought about by the empress Maud through the mediation of the pope. On his return to Rouen his cousin, Philip of Flanders, paid him a visit, and he likewise received at Rouen[3] an embassy from the German emperor treating as to the schism, and asking that one of the king's daughters should be given

[1] p. 753. It should be noted that Hugh of Amiens, the archbishop of Rouen, who favoured Victor, died on the 10th or 11th of November 1164. His successor, Rotrou de Beaumont, who was translated from Evreux in the same year, supported Alexander.

[2] *Albericus Trium-Font.*, Bouquet, xiii., 708.

[3] Diceto asserts that they came to Westminster, but, from the words of R. of Torigni alone, it seems probable that they saw the king at Rouen. Archbishop Rotrou's words are decisive, "Nos quidem, cum Rothomagi "essemus, et illic essent nuntii imperatoris, de illis audivimus," &c. Mat. Hist. T.B. v. 194–5.

to Henry of Bavaria, and another to the emperor's son, then but a youth. Rainald, archbishop of Cologne, was the principal ambassador; and, according to R. of Torigni, the usual obligations were taken, and Henry sent a return embassy to Frederick to receive his oath and make the requisite arrangements.[1] A.D. 1165.

These or other envoys seem to have been present at Würzburg, and to have taken a dubious part in the recognition of the antipope Paschal on the 23rd of May; but Henry seems never to have wholly made up his mind to act against his conscience in the matter of the schism. His motives obviously were to secure his daughter's marriage and to frighten the pope into giving up the cause of Becket. The empress Maud and Rotrou of Rouen urged on him the necessity of denying Frederick's assertions as to his adhesion to Paschal.[2]

It is a curious feature of the times of which we write that the archbishop of Cologne was treated on this occasion as a schismatic, even by the justiciary, and that altars at which he had celebrated mass were thrown down.[3]

After this Henry sent for queen Eleanor, who crossed with her children, Richard and Matilda, and remained in Normandy, while Henry returned to prosecute the Welsh war with an army summoned from his dominions abroad as well as from those at home.[4] Again he received aid from Scotland, and again he made use of Flemish soldiers, and even of Aragonese mercenaries.[5]

His movements on this occasion are not clearly comprehensible. He went hastily to Rhuddlan, and after encamping there for three nights returned to England.[6] Then he advanced to Oswestry, and thence

[1] Mat. Hist. Thos. Becket, v. pp. 182–192, and i. 52.

[2] Mat. Hist. T.B., v. 194.

[3] Rad. Niger (ed. Caxton Soc.), p. 170; Diceto, i. 318.

[4] Newburgh, p. 145.

[5] Diceto, i. 318. Pipe Roll, 11 H. II. "Et pro instructionibus "Arragunorum."

[6] Shrewsbury [?] T.B. v. 198.

A.D. 1165. to Corwen, where he faced the Welsh forces under Owen, Rhys, and several other *reguli*. No battle took place, but Henry moved to the woods of Ceiriogs, and onwards to Berwyn, where he encamped.[1] From this position rain and lack of supplies dislodged him; and irritated by failure and loss of men, Henry allowed himself the brutal satisfaction of maiming the poor children[2] who had been in his keeping as hostages. He then returned to Chester, and awaited ships which he expected from Dublin, evidently hoping, by a repetition of his former tactics, to take the Welsh in the rear; but the fleet was found insufficient, and the king retired[3] partially baffled. His efforts, nevertheless, were not wholly wasted, for it would appear from Newburgh's words[4] that he succeeded in restraining incursions and compelled the Welsh to think of peace.[5]

The latter success may have been achieved by the stoppage of food supplies from England, which Newburgh says were essential to the Welsh, and the cessation of which always brought them to terms.[6]

In October queen Eleanor gave birth to a daughter, Johanna, at Angers; and on the 9th of December Malcolm, the good king of Scotland, who had been a true ally to Henry, died, and was succeeded by William the Lion.

A.D. 1166. Following the arguments of Bishop Stubbs,[7] we must give an early place in 1166 to the council of Oxford, summoned to judge a band of about 30 unhappy "Publicani," who, headed by one Gerard, came over on a proselytising expedition from Germany to England.

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[1] *Annal. Cambr.*, 49.

[2] *Ch. Mailr*, 79. The *Brut y Tywysogion* gives their names.

[3] *Brut*, &c., p. 201.

[4] p. 145.

[5] The *Contin. Rad. Nigri*, p. 170, says that the Welsh captured Cardigan. Henry would appear, from one of the Becket letters, v. p. 198, to have claimed a victory. See, however, v. p. 224.

[6] p. 107.

[7] Preface to Benedict of Peterborough, p. lix.

The best account of their proceedings is that given by Newburgh,[1] who tells us that they made one convert, and that when they were seized and brought before the king she promptly deserted them. Henry probably found himself unequal to the task of dealing with offenders of this peculiar sort, and summoned a council of bishops to sit at Oxford and examine the prisoners. Their heresy was soon manifest, and they were handed back to the secular arm. The king ordered them to be branded and flogged, and to be driven forth. As he also forbade them to be assisted in any way, and caused their clothes to be pitilessly cut down to the waist, they perished miserably in that winter season. Walter Map says that they disappeared into Normandy, and he states their number at 16 only,[2] while Diceto merely says that they were branded and expelled from the kingdom. The Tewkesbury annals refer to them as belonging to the "*hæresis texentium*." A.D. 1166.

This strange business helps us to date the far more important "Assize of Clarendon," in the 21st article of which the wretched enthusiasts are mentioned in terms which show that they were not then known to have perished.[3] Thus the events were probably but a few days apart. We know from Newburgh that the council of Oxford was held in the winter, and from Diceto that the king crossed to Normandy about the 9th of March.[4] In this way we get rough limiting dates for the important legal changes which Henry introduced in this

[1] pp. 131–134. Though the council of Oxford is stated on pp. 133 and 134 to have been held in 1166, it will be noticed that the wrong date (1160) unfortunately remains on pp. 131 and 132. It will be seen by the position of Cap. XII. that the error originated with Newburgh himself.

[2] *De Nugis Cur.*, p. 62.

[3] Newburgh evidently knew more about them than any other chronicler, and his assertion that they died is only too likely to be true.

[4] The Pipe R., 12 H. II., indicates a journey from Clarendon to Woodstock, Sarum, and Chippenham.

A.D. 1166. year. Their celebrity, however, excludes them from further mention in this preface.

Before he started for Normandy Henry, as Robert of Torigni states, had put the Welsh marches into a defensible state, and, leaving English affairs to his lieutenants, devoted himself to continental schemes. At Easter he was at Angers, and then we hear of him as holding two interviews with Louis as to the peace of the kingdoms. These took place at Le Mans on the 10th and 17th of May. We do not know particulars, but certainly there was nothing at this time that could be termed open war. Border forays and the weary strife about Toulouse were haply the subjects discussed. This latter was destined to continue, though we may reasonably understand only in a sub-acute form, for forty years in all. During this long period, as Newburgh[1] assures us, the question was a constant source of anxiety to the English monarchs, and was only finally set at rest when Richard, in 1196, gave his sister Johanna in marriage to Raymond VI.

At this interview the kings decided to tax their realms for five years for the relief of the Holy Land. The exactions were settled at twopence in the pound on treasure and rents for the first year, and a penny for the remainder of the term. Gervase[2] gives the decree, which was one applicable alike to clergy and laity.

We next see Henry in conference with his bishops at Chinon.[3] Then we hear of his taking possession of the castles of Alençon and Roche-Mabille with their appurtenances—another of those silent steps taken at intervals, and each time with a good show of reason and legality, by which Henry solidified his power both against his own barons and the French king. We have already seen an

[1] p. 491.
[2] i. 198.
[3] *Joh. Sarisb.*, Epp. 144, 145, 168.

incident[1] of this same kind. The courtier Robert of Torigni, with no doubt conscious inconsistency, begins a sentence by saying that the count of Séez and his family granted the castles to Henry, and winds up with the remark that these nobles probably lost their possessions because of the evil customs they kept up. A.D. 1166.

We now come to a step long contemplated by the king, a beginning, as it proved, of far-reaching disaster.

The merits which have been perceived in Henry II. are mainly reducible to this, that he saw well how a rich country like England, kept quiet by a regular administration of its ancient laws, taxed on a settled plan, and allowed to form privileged centres of commercial activity, might be to him a secure basis of operations for his foreign schemes. He repressed the baronage, created a class of faithful crown-servants, and consulted with a fairly representative council before taking steps affecting his people. He trusted his humbler subjects, and was trusted by them, and if he had never had any children he would have appeared to us, as he certainly did to his contemporaries, a truly great monarch—in peace, pre-eminently a man of business; in war, a capable leader; but his vices, and his errors in dealing with his sons, produced results too wide and deep for his fame.

When he married a harlot, thirteen years his senior, for the sake of her possessions; when he first exalted a man like Becket far above the most powerful of his subjects, and then, in search of a vain hope, made him an archbishop; when he caused his son to be crowned in his lifetime; when he distributed governments among his brutal children, and allowed them to sport with human life in purposeless wars among themselves; when he senselessly forgave what should never have been for-

[1] See p. lv, and compare the transfer of the custody of the Norman castles referred to on p. liv.

A.D. 1166. given, and allowed the criminals means for a repetition of their crimes; we can only say that he sowed the storm and reaped the whirlwind of his own marvellous folly.

Henry, as we have already seen, was possessed of Nantes in 1158, and had, as seneschal of France, interfered in Brittany; but in this year he chose to take special notice of the chronic disturbances in the duchy, and began to make ready for the final prosecution of his design. In this expedition he was joined by William, king of Scotland, who appears from the words of the chronicle of Melrose[1] to have followed him abroad, and to have given military assistance in the ensuing war. Ralph of Fougères, according to Diceto, was the leader of the rebellion, and had allied himself with the principal Breton nobles.[2] Against his castle, therefore, the king directed his efforts. This was in June, for on the 28th of that month we see Henry four leagues from the baron's castle of Fougères.[3] Ralph relied on help from France, but this was not given, and his defences were, after a contest lasting till the 14th of July,[4] utterly destroyed. Henry, having thus awed the turbulent nobles into submission, was able to awe Conan into compliance of another sort. The count's only daughter, Constance, was betrothed to Geoffrey, Henry's second son; and Conan resigned the duchy of Brittany, reserving only Guingamp. This done, the greater part of the nobles rendered homage to Henry at Thouars, and he passed on to take possession of his new province by occupying Rennes, its capital. Next he visited Com-

[1] p. 80. Cf. Pipe R., 12 H. II., "in passagio regis Scotiæ."

[2] *Joh. Sarisb.*, Ep. 176.

[3] Mat. Hist. T. Becket, v. 421. In this letter the settlement of a quarrel with the barons of Le Mans is referred to: no facts as to the dispute are known.

[4] A charter in M. Delisle's ed. of R. of Torigni, ii. 285, is dated 13 July, 1166, "apud Fulgerias in exercitu."

bourg and Dol, both for the first time, though they had fallen into his hands in 1164; and, having done this, he passed by Mont-Saint-Michel, stopping apparently only to pray, and slept that night at Genest. There he was met by William, king of Scotland, and the bishop of Man, perhaps the Norwegian Reginald.[1] A.D. 1166.

A conference took place between Henry and William of Scotland at Caen, where, on some cause of difference arising, Henry burst into mad anger against Richard de Humez, who seemed to be taking William's side. If we may believe one of the Becket letters, his fury was so great that he gnawed the straw of his couch; but most probably this is a maliciously literal statement of a trivial every-day action. Of Henry's anger there need seldom be any question.

Next we find the king at Toques, conferring with the count of Flanders and agreeing, clearly as a compromise of claims on Mortain,[2] to give Matthew of Boulogne an annual pension of a thousand pounds. He would seem, however, to have broken faith in the following year.

From Toques Henry went to Rouen, and from thence to Caen. On November the 18th he met count Theobald at Tours, and promised him a pension of five hundred pounds; then on the following Sunday he had an interview with deputies from Poitou and the neighbouring provinces—evidently the prelude of the rebellion of 1168. After this the writer of the letter from which we quote states his belief that the king will be at Rouen in order to meet the count of Flanders on the 6th of December, and pay him the first sum due under the agreement with Matthew of Boulogne.[3]

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[1] *Chr. Mailr.*, p. 80.

[2] See pp. li. and lxxviii.

[3] Giles, *Sanct. Tho. Cant.*, iv. pp. 185, 260–2. The claim came through the abbess of Rumsey.

A.D. 1166. The Christmas-tide of this year was spent by the king at Poitiers, prince Henry coming to him from England.[1]

Again we get a glimpse of enrolled legal proceedings in England, this time from the Pipe Roll (12 H. II.) :—

Norf. et Suff. Adam fil. Alur. redd. comp. de C.m. ut habeat recordum curiæ Regis de plac. inter ipsum et Agn. de Riburc.

A.D. 1167. Before the 22nd of February we find the king at Rouen, establishing a new abbot in the convent of St. Ouen ; and then, at some time before the 9th of April, holding a conference with the count of St. Gilles at Grammont, no doubt on the Toulouse question, for Gervase[2] alludes to the war which ensued this year as due, among other causes, to this perennial source of discord. After the 9th of April Henry led an expedition into Auvergne to punish count William, not only for refusing to accept his decision as feudal superior in the dispute pending between the count and his nephew, but also for placing himself on the side of the French king. After these less direct quarrels with Louis, ensued a childish difference as to the transmission of the money collected for the king of Jerusalem. Another source of irritation, of course, was the accusing figure of the exiled archbishop, to whom, curiously enough, R. of Torigni does not allude in this part of his chronicle.

Etienne de Rouen knows no such caution. He proclaims the sinister efforts of Becket :—

Arma movet, cædes præparat, ore furit.
Aut sibi restituet rex Anglus pontificatum
Aut per bella, neces, auferet iste thronum.[3]

Nor is he less incisively explicit as to the prelate's personal character :—

At præsul, triplicis qui fraudis Symonis heres
Perfidus est, merito sedis ab arce ruit.

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[1] To this year the *Contin. Rad. Nigri* (p. 171) assigns an attempt of Henry's to compile a feodary book for the realm. The *Chron. Petroburgense*, p. 3, has a different version. The aid for Matilda's marriage was the object. See *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* The Pipe Roll, 12. H. II., notes gifts to certain Irishmen : a trace of Dermot's visit.

[2] i. 203.

[3] p. 677, *l.* 462.

Whatever the motives of Louis may have been, he approached the conference, which abbot Robert places in the Vexin and on the 4th of June, but Etienne more precisely assigns to Gisors,[1] ready to demand Henry's homage for his continental domains. Etienne gives Henry's views on this question in the form of an amusing, but imaginary, oration to his nobles, in which he ridicules the idea of the four princes carrying dishes, offering water and wiping the king's hands, and expresses an opinion that ill might befall the French king's throne if carried on four such wheels. A.D. 1167.

Henry's reply to Louis' demand, including a cautious stipulation that the kings should meet alone and in the open air, was carried by a bishop :—

Nunciat hæc regi jus pontificalis honoris.[2]

And thus it appears that no actual meeting of the two kings took place; for, on receiving the reply, Louis angrily returned to Henry his homage, and retired to make ready for war.[3]

Here, and further on, we have facts not previously known. We learn[4] that Louis retired with his army to Mantes, and there lay idle; and that Henry, spurred to action by his barons, left Gisors with an army of Normans and Welsh to attack Chaumont-en-Vexin. Abbot Robert says that this was in revenge for some border ravages between Mantes and Pacy, and adds that Chaumont contained the treasures and stores gathered by Louis for the war. We now have an interesting account of the siege, or rather *coup-de-main*, from the pen of Etienne. From this it seems that Pierre de Courtenai, the French king's brother, was in command. Henry's plan of attack was simple, but sufficient. He sent his Welsh mercenaries to enter the town by swim-

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[1] p. 677, *l.* 475.

[2] p. 680, *l.* 549.

[3] R. of Torigni merely says that Louis' wish for peace was overborne by his nobles.

[4] p. 681, *l.* 586.

A.D. 1167. ming along the channel of the river, bidding them set fire to the buildings. In the meanwhile he went forward with his Norman force to assail the walls. The French confidently sallied out with their leader; but, being beaten, sought the shelter of the fortifications, only, however, to find the town already in flames behind them. The Normans entered and, capturing one of the leaders, count Thibaud,[1] drove the French through the burning streets to the citadel. Then the destruction of the stores took place. The corn was burnt, and the feet of the Welsh soldiers were bathed with wine. The fierce mercenaries pressed on to the citadel, and were about to assail it when the king, contented with his success, interfered, and the army marched back to Gisors. From thence Henry went to Vernon.[2]

We are now confronted with one of those strange incidents which cause us to pause and ask ourselves what, if these abnormal phenomena be true, becomes of certain canons of that science of destructive criticism, which at present is permitting us, as a matter of sufferance only, to hold a few of our cherished views of history?

The French king, then at Mantes, was transported with rage at the loss of his stores, and formed wild schemes for revenge; but Henry was visibly too strong at all points. Still his fury had to be appeased, and the count of Flanders actually came to request that Henry would permit some place in Normandy to be sacrificed to the impotent rage of the French monarch.[3] The empress Maud gave her advice to the same effect; and Andely was deliberately chosen as the victim. The inhabitants were carried away in boats. The French entered the silent town, and burned it to the ground. All this our monk tells us, and indeed reiterates, with

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[1] Was this Theobald of Blois?

[2] *Draco*, p. 691, *l.* 847.

[3] There is a lacuna at this part of the *Draco* (p. 688); but the prose summary of Cap. XIV., and the "altercatio" on pp. 690 to 695, together give the facts very clearly.

evident enjoyment of the absurdity of the position. The bare fact that Louis burned Andely was known before; but, if we look at a good map of France, we see reason to believe what our versifier tells us. A.D. 1167.

Leaving, of course, a good garrison at Gisors, Henry had moved along the roads which cross the main way from Paris to Rouen at Thilliers, and had reached Vernon, effectually cutting by this movement the line of march by the road leading on the south side of the river to Pont-de-l'Arche and Rouen. Louis could thus only reach Andely either after a complete rout of the Normans under the walls of Vernon, or by taking to the northern bank of the river. In the latter case he would have had to pass the Epte with the garrison of Gisors on his right flank, and Henry's army defending the passage of the river and operating along the road through Tilly. A march of more than twenty miles in these circumstances cannot be spoken of seriously. If it occurred at all, it must have been permitted.

Certain other facts in Henry's history, which in isolation appear doubtful, lend to each other a remarkable support when placed side by side. We doubt whether any similar period of our annals would present us with four such striking, but incomprehensible,[1] incidents as those afforded by the thirty years preceding 1167. Within these few years permission was given to the beleaguered empress to leave Arundel and join her forces at Bristol; Stephen, in the midst of war, gave money to his enemy, Henry, to enable him to pay his mercenaries; in 1159 Henry, with the greatest army he had ever assembled, abstained from attacking Toulouse; and, lastly, in 1167, he literally marched away in order that Louis might burn Andely and some open towns and retire unmolested. The last of these incidents, as we have seen, is not only probable on purely military grounds,

[1] Notwithstanding the fluent explanations offered.

A.D. 1167. but is definitely asserted by a writer who must have known the truth. We might, therefore, regard it as fairly established, even if Hoveden did not tell us that Andely was burned *non resistente Henrico rege.*[1] Gasny and six other towns were given to the flames at the same time as Andely; and the chroniclers assert that on the march back no less than a thousand[2] Frenchmen perished through heat and thirst.[3]

About this time Matthew, count of Boulogne, angered by Henry's retention of money due to him, perhaps the pension by which his claims on Mortain had been recently compromised, and seeing Henry involved in war, prepared a flotilla of 600 vessels, and threatened a descent on the English coast. The mere attitude of the justiciar, Richard de Luci, it would seem, sufficed to turn this bold invader from his purpose.[4]

In August the kings swore to a truce, which was to last until the 31st of March 1168. This left Henry time for the affairs of Brittany, where, Etienne informs us, there was a rebellion.[5] Henry promptly reduced all the inhabitants to subjection, even the viscount of Léhon submitting when he saw on all hands fortresses falling or being surrendered.

This expedition furnishes our versifier with an opportunity for the somewhat theatrical effect to which we have already referred.[6] He represents count Roland,[7] who no doubt is the Roland de Dinan with whose name the Pipe Rolls render us familiar, writing to king Arthur, "*qui tunc apud antipodes degebat,*" complaining of Henry's invasion. We cannot summarise the

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[1] i. 282. Hoveden's date is, however, wrong.

[2] Diceto, i. 330.

[3] *Draco Norm.*, p. 690, *ll.* 819–822.

[4] Gervase, i. 203.

[5] The *Chron. S. Albini Andegavensis* (Bouquet xii. 482) says that Eudo, count of Brittany, the viscount of Thouars and others, with the help of the French King, rebelled against Henry.

[6] p. xxii.

[7] p. 696, *l.* 945.

foolish verbiage, but it opens with a curious hint which looks like an indirect statement of a fact:— A.D. 1167.

Naturalis habet probitas animusque virilis
Ut prius indicat prœlia, deinde gerat.[1]

Must we not infer a friendly reproof to Henry from words thus cunningly put by the monk into Arthur's mouth? Was Henry guilty of waging war without warning? It must have been so in the case of the Breton war, or the words, bold in any case, are more than senseless—indeed, are gratuitously impertinent.[2]

Etienne then represents Arthur as prophesying that Henry's enterprise will be brought to an end when he hears of his mother's death; and he thus introduces an important event, the decease of the empress Maud. This happened at the house of Notre-Dame-des-Prés, opposite Rouen, on the 10th of September, at 9 o'clock in the morning.[3] She had been ill in the previous year and, expecting to die, had spoken to Henry about her burial.[4] He remembered a former request made to her father in her illness after the birth of Geoffrey, and mentioned Bec. She replied that it was not a royal burial-place, but Henry overcame her objection by saying that Heaven alone was truly a royal abode, and that no pomp of burial could confer any blessing on the dead. It was Etienne himself who was chosen to break the news to Henry. Such, at least, is the inference we may safely draw from the only passage in which the author approaches poetic pathos.[5]

The king's sorrow was very great. His love and respect for her, as we have seen in the case of the proposed Irish expedition, gave her a real control over him.[6]

[1] See p. 697, *ll.* 971–974.

[2] My impression is that Etienne intended to present his poem to the king.

[3] p. 711, *l.* 9.

[4] p. 714, *l.* 86.

[5] p. 708.

[6] He resisted Dermot's pleading in 1166, and it was not until after his mother's death that open interference began.

A.D. 1167. Almost the last act of her life was an attempt to mediate between her son and Becket, and had she lived she might have thus altered greatly the course of events. In 1110,[1] when scarcely five years old,[2] she was given as a bride to the emperor Henry V., and was married and crowned as empress on 6th January 1114.[3] She was thus about 20 years old when she lost her first husband, 36 when she made her memorable escape from Oxford castle across the frozen Thames, and about 62 when she died. Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen and Arnulf of Lisieux headed the procession of monks by whom she was laid to rest before the high altar of the great church of Bec-Herluin.[4] Above her grave, Etienne tells us, was a *corona lucis* with seven lights, precisely such an one no doubt as that we now see above Charlemagne's grave at Aix-la-Chapelle, placed there about this same date by Barbarossa. Her property was given for pious uses, and Etienne supplies a list, most interesting to an antiquary, of the valuable gifts made on this occasion to the abbey of Bec.[5]

Of the remaining events of this year we know little or nothing. Queen Eleanor crossed to England with her daughter Matilda, who was then taken over to Germany by the earls of Arundel and Warrenne,[6] to be wedded to Henry, duke of Saxony and Bavaria.[7]

[1] *Flor. Wigorn.*, ii., 60.

[2] R. de Monte's life of Henry I., which passes as the 8th book of W. of Jumiéges.

[3] *Flor. Wigorn.*, ii. 67.

[4] *Draco Norm.*, p. 715. Her body, wrapped in a bull's hide, was found there in 1282. Bourget, *Hist. of Abbey of Bec*, p. 98. Her remains were again discovered in the ruins of the abbey in 1847. See *Revue de Rouen*, 1847, pp. 41, 604.

[5] pp. 758–760. See also *Chron. Gaufr. Vosiensis* (Bouquet xii. p. 441), and Robert of Torigni (Pertz vi., 516).

[6] Ralph Coggeshall's *Contin. Chr. Rad. Nigri*, p. 171.

[7] Gervase represents the archbishop *elect* of Cologne as coming over in 1167 to ask for the princess. The arrangement had been made in 1165. The Pipe Roll for 13 Hen. II. names the duke's *nuntius*, Symon, and refers to the payment of the six ships hired at Southampton to take the princess to Germany. This shows that she crossed before Michaelmas 1167.

On the 24th of December John, the fourth of the man-hunting brood, was born at Oxford. Henry himself was at Argentan at Christmas, holding a great court in his new hall. Possibly he had stayed there from the 26th of November, the day on which he had met William of Pavia and Otho, and had expressed his hope that he might never see any more cardinals. A.D. 1168.

The next event was an outbreak of war with France. The truce expired on March 31st, but it would seem as if its termination had been anticipated. The people of Poitou, enraged by Henry's curtailment of certain of their liberties,[1] were planning a rebellion. In this they were joined by the population of Aquitaine, perhaps suffering from the same grievance. It was no mere popular revolt, but was headed by the counts of La Marche, Angoulême, Lusignan, and other nobles; and an arrangement, confirmed by giving hostages, had been made with Louis. Henry, count of Champagne, Louis' brother-in-law, and Philip of Flanders had been at Soissons, zealously endeavouring to patch up a peace, the terms of which are given by John of Salisbury.[2] These included the marriage of Richard to Louis' daughter, but nothing was said as to Toulouse. Henry avoided meeting the two negotiators, but left the archbishop of Rouen and others to treat as to peace, and marched on Lusignan. He captured and garrisoned the castle, and having left the queen and Patrick, earl of Salisbury, with a sufficient force, proceeded to Normandy to hold a conference with Louis between Pacy and Le Mans.

John of Salisbury represents Henry as having asked for this meeting, and indeed he seemed eager to attend it. His object was partially defeated, however, for Louis refused to meet him at first, but on April the 7th Henry, in conference with certain French nobles, swore to make restitution to the Poitevins, and to observe the

[1] Gervase, i. p. 205.

[2] Epp. 244.

A.D. 1168. conditions of peace settled at Soissons. Louis, though so far appeased, withdrew the marriage arrangements, and said that the question of Toulouse might be submitted to the judgment of his court. He also arranged to meet Henry on May the 12th, and make peace on the bases indicated; but in the meantime the Poitevins made fresh complaints of insidious attacks pending the negotiations. They, however, confessed, or rather professed, that they had defeated Henry's army, and had unwillingly killed the earl of Salisbury. We know that the latter half of this assertion was hypocritical, and that the earl was basely murdered; but be this as it may, we should attach importance to John of Salisbury's opinion that Louis might repent of his peaceful intentions.[1] There is no proof, indeed, that he met Henry at all; John of Salisbury's letter speaks of the future only, and, whether the monarchs did or did not meet, it is certain that no agreement ensued.

Before we allude further to the history of this war, and before we touch on the Breton war, which began before the arrangement of a truce with France, we must consider the information which Gervase and Etienne afford us as to the important embassy from Germany, which both authors place during the preparations for the contest with France. This is the one of which the countess of Boulogne—once abbess of Rumsey—wrote to apprise Louis.

The duke of Saxony, lately become Henry's son-in-law, passed through Flanders[2] in company with the archbishop of Maintz,[3] the archbishop elect of Cologne, and the bishop of Liége, and met the English king in

[1] See John of Salisbury, Ep. 244. Hoveden (i. 273) says that the earl was returning from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Henry's anger drove Guy to the Holy Land, where he became king of Jerusalem, and ultimately king of Cyprus.

[2] *Draco Norm.*, p. 719, *l.* 218.

[3] Gervase, i. 205. The *Draco* only refers to two bishops.

Normandy. The object of this mission was two-fold, first to offer material aid against Louis—going so far in this direction as to offer to make the French crown an imperial grant to the younger Henry;[1] and, secondly, to induce Henry to separate himself ecclesiastically at once from Becket and from Louis by accepting the antipope Paschal. A.D. 1168.

There are inconsistencies in the two accounts at this point; for while Etienne de Rouen, possibly an adherent of Paschal, as he had been of Victor, does not name the second design, Gervase represents the archbishop of Maintz[2] as a partisan of Alexander in 1165. What appears certain, for the Canterbury monks were present, is that the king so far listened to Barbarossa's tempting as to call an assembly of the clergy in London, in which he tried, though unsuccessfully, to extort an oath of obedience to the antipope Paschal.[3]

Perhaps this was part of the secret design[4] which, according to Etienne, Henry intimated to the German envoys[5] at the further meeting which he had with them at Rouen. He had declined the offer of armed assistance, being apparently still unwilling to drive matters against Louis too far, but this blow would strike Becket more than Louis, rendering his deposition from the see of Canterbury a certainty.

We must now return to the outbreak of war in Brittany. Eudo, viscount of Porroët, having refused feudal service, according to Robert of Torigni, but according to John of Salisbury having received a horrible injury from

[1] *Draco Norm.*, 721, *ll.* 261, 262.

[2] i. p. 206. M.H.T.B. v. 159.

[3] This assembly was held only a short time before Paschal's death, which took place on 20 Sept. 1168.

[4] *Draco Norm.*, p. 724, *ll.* 355–60.

[5] Robert of Torigni, a strict adherent of pope Alexander, is here instructive, as in the case of the Becket quarrel, by his reticence. He barely mentions the visit of duke Henry and his return with presents, and does not say a word as to any negotiations.

A.D. 1168. Henry,[1] allied himself with Oliver and Roland of Dinan. Henry at once attacked Eudo's stronghold, Château Joscelin, and plundered his lands. Afterwards the king deprived him of Vannes and a portion of Cornouaille, and took the castle of Auray. Then Dinan and Hédé were given up, Tinténiac was destroyed, and on June the 24th,[2] after some days' siege, Roland de Dinan's strong castle of Bécherel fell into Henry's power.

The next day, that is on June 25th,[3] the king committed some ravages at Léhon; but as he had to attend a conference with Louis, he deferred any attack on the strong castle, and, marching round Dinan, continued his ravages and laid waste the district round St. Malo.

On the 1st of July the kings and Becket[4] approached La Ferté-Bernard, but there Henry had ocular demonstration of the part Louis was playing. He saw before him not only the Breton nobles, headed by count Eudo, complaining of the hideous outrage on his daughter, but some also from Maine, and learned that there was a mutual compact between Louis and the malcontents, guarding each party against a separate peace.[5] Fruitless messages passed between the monarchs, and the war went on raging until about the 1st of December.

In the meantime Henry had compromised Matthew of Boulogne's claims on Mortain, and had entered into alliance with him. When, however, Matthew tried to march to Henry's assistance, count John of Ponthieu interfered, compelling him to travel by sea, but bringing down on his own head the effectual thunder of

[1] Ep. 246.

[2] *Chron. Britt.* (Bouquet, xii. p. 560.)

[3] *Chron. Britt.*, p. 560.

[4] John of Salisbury, Ep. 246.

[5] John of Salisbury (Ep. 246) gives details, but he includes messengers from the king of Scots, the kings of Wales, and the Gascon nobles, offering alliance,—in fact a widespread conspiracy. But in Ep. 244 he represents Henry as arranging a marriage between the Scotch king's sister and the son of the marquis of Montferrat.

Henry's wrath. The ruins of forty villages in the district of Le Vimieu were the visible testimony of his punishment. A.D. 1168.

Perhaps it was while Henry was thus employed that Louis attacked and destroyed Chênebrun. Henry at once pursued him, and effected some captures among his men. Brezolles and Châteauneuf were next destroyed, and the lands of the count of Perche were devastated, but Robert of Torigni declares himself unable to remember all the ravages which Henry committed. This border warfare lulled as usual at Christmas, and Louis' nobles pressed on him, as Etienne tells us, the advisability of making peace.[1]

Henry passed Christmas-tide at Argentan, and met Louis on the 6th of January 1169, according to Robert of Torigni and Gervase, the latter chronicler giving Montmirail, near Chartres, as the place of congress. A.D. 1169.

Here we are met by discrepancies, due to the ceaseless theme of these weary years. In abbot Robert's case the disturbance in the series of events is of a purely negative character. He will not even name Becket, and gives us a halting story; while other writers deluge us, now with apparent truth, now with extravagant follies, but always with the sayings and doings of the martyred prelate. To attempt a concordance of these would be impossible, and it will therefore be better to confine ourselves to Robert of Torigni and the *Draco*.

From the former we learn only of one meeting, that at Montmirail, but Etienne tells us of two; the place of the first he omits, but the second was held at Poissy. At Montmirail it would seem that the kings agreed on general terms of peace, and that Henry's sons did homage for their provinces;[2] but nothing could be definitely settled without the presence of representatives from

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[1] *Draco Norm.*, p. 754, *l.* 1285, &c.

[2] R. de Torigni, 518.

A.D. 1169. Brittany and Poitou. They therefore named a day for completing their treaty and separated; the French king, however, took prince Henry with him to Paris, where he was honourably entertained. This act, Etienne informs us, was displeasing to the Normans, nor can the proud race have been gratified to learn that their young prince on the 2nd of February served at table as seneschal[1] of France. These circumstances enable us to narrow a little the period within which the second meeting occurred. As we have already said, Etienne places it at Poissy, Robert of Torigni at Saint-Germain-en-Laye; but as these places are not four miles apart, the discrepancy is trifling. The chorus of biographers places the meeting of Becket with the two kings at Montmirail,[2] but future historians of Becket must reckon with two suspicious facts. Robert of Torigni permits himself nothing but the bare mention of the Saint-Germain or Poissy congress; and, considering his excellent means of information, the inference is tolerably strong that there was business transacted which he does not choose to record. Etienne, always very much bolder, asserts the presence of Becket on the second and not on the first occasion. After alluding to the Bretons and Poitevins being joined in the peace, he states that it was agreed that young Henry when of age should rule Normandy, Geoffrey Anjou, and Richard Poitou, adding, rather cloudily, that Toulouse would fall to Richard's lot when he should become a knight, but that he and the count of St. Gilles would have to appear before the French

[1] As to the hereditary seneschalship of the counts of Anjou, see "Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou," p. 387–394.

[2] I have in note 1 on p. 676 referred to Montmirail as the generally accepted designation of the meeting place.

[3] John of Salisbury pretends that king Henry did homage to Louis on this occasion for Normandy, prince Henry for Anjou and Maine, and prince Richard for Poitou. He places these events at Montmirail. Ep. 284.

court about the matter, probably to arrange fitting terms of compensation. A.D. 1169.

Then it appears that the French king and his nobles brought forward the archbishop of Canterbury, entreating favour for him.[1] Henry asked only to be treated as his ancestors had been treated by previous archbishops. Becket gave an unsatisfactory answer, containing the inevitable reservation, "*salvo jure*"; and then the king, citing the conduct of Lanfranc and Anselm, argued that what saints had done Becket might do. Upon this the French king swore by the three Magi[2] that the prelate had no further grounds for holding out, and that, as the French bishops obeyed their king's laws, so might Becket obey Henry's decrees. Thomas, however, was silent. He pondered over the king's words, but feared to return to his see.

Thus ends the story of the *Draco Normannicus*, and from what has been placed before the reader it is hoped that its value as a contribution to regal history has been made clear. We see that the poem furnishes facts hitherto unknown; that it gives an independent view of the great controversies of the day; that it lends support to statements hitherto without confirmation; and, finally, that it gives us an indirect assurance that no events of primary importance for the history of the years from 1153 to 1169 are absolutely lost.

II.

The continuation of William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* up to 1298, which is printed on pp. 503–583, is derived mainly from the Cotton MS. Cleop. A. 1. The earlier part of this MS. is a worthless compilation from the usual sources; the middle portion The continuation of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* to A.D. 1298.

[1] *Joh. Sarisb.* ep. 284; *Draco Norm.*, p. 756.

[2] Then newly found and transferred to Cologne.

is copied from William of Newburgh; and, from 1198, we have extracts from Hoveden as far as the year 1200. No events for 1201 are recorded, but in 1202 we find that the writer has taken up the Stanley abbey chronicle (MS. Bodl., Digby 11), and has copied it almost to its finish.

The Stanley abbey chronicle.

The present edition is thus, in effect, the publication for the first time of the contents of two MSS. The earlier, the Stanley chronicle, is an ill-written 13th century MS., which shows every sign of contemporary composition; the latter, which from internal evidence was certainly compiled by a monk of Furness abbey, is, as would appear, an ignorantly written copy of the usual scrawled sheets, which used to hang up[1] in the scriptorium of almost every abbey to receive plummet notes of current events. These were written by an able hand, but the careless monks had obviously lost several sheets of memoranda, though to outward appearance the narrative flows on unbroken from 1275 to 1290.[2] Perhaps the transcriber found it prudent not to mention the loss. No one checked his work, that is quite clear, and he put it aside as complete. Let us not be uncharitable to him, for probably the whole affair was a hasty performance of neglected duties, carried out under the pressure of the king's commands.[3] Edward had directed certain documents respecting the claimants to the Scotch crown to be entered in the chronicles of Furness and other abbeys; so if the abbot had no chronicle, or rather had but a neglected one, he must needs set a monk to fetch up arrears. This is very likely what happened, for the annalistic impetus only lasted for seven years more, that is, up to 1298.

The Furness abbey chronicle.

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[1] *Annal. Wigorn.*, 355.

[2] The monk put the date 1291, but the facts belong to 1290.

[3] As already stated, the monk who made the original entries at Furness was a man of some capacity, but the transcriber was not.

There has been some difficulty in printing these MSS., for while large portions of the narrative up to 1270 are identical in both—the Furness chronicler having copied from his Stanley compeer—there are independent entries in each. The northern compiler adds the events of his neighbourhood, but does not think it worth while to transcribe facts only interesting to a Wiltshireman. Again, as the year 1241 is reached, the Furness writer amplifies and the Stanley chronicler grows brief, and after 1270 fails us altogether. In fact, from 1260 to 1298 the northern chronicle may be viewed as entirely original. It has thus been necessary to print the two chronicles as one for a long period, and then, as the southern one dies out, it has been thought best to place its attenuated contribution in the lower half of the page, leaving the upper part to the Furness annalist. All variations of reading and all omissions have been carefully recorded, and it would be possible for anyone, who might choose to do so, to construct from the edition now offered either the Furness or the Stanley chronicle, or both, as separate works. In other words, they are apparently fused together, but could be perfectly well separated by means of the information furnished by the marginal and foot-notes. It was impossible to print the matter borrowed from the Stanley chronicle in small type, as is usual in the Rolls Series, for this would have effectually concealed interesting facts as to the composition of the Stanley MS. itself.

The Waverley annals perhaps quoted.

On p. 507 will be seen in small type a passage identical with the Waverley annals,[1] whether copied from that source, or derived from a common original, cannot be said with any certainty.

Quotations from a chronicle used by

Of much more interest is the discovery shown by small type on pp. 524 to 527, that the words of the Stanley annalist absolutely coincide in many places with

[1] *Annal. Waverl.*, p. 254.

Ralph of Coggeshall.

the writings of Ralph of Coggeshall (Rolls ed., pp. 185 to 188). A minute comparison of the texts will show, by signs which could not easily be detailed, that neither writer has copied from the other, but that both have drawn from some lost chronicle. It may be that the Stanley chronicle owes to this unknown source the Bull of pope Honorius authorising the Translation of St. Thomas, which no other English chronicler has recorded.[1] However this may be, we are able now to say that Coggeshall, like most of his fellow chroniclers, was to some extent a compiler. The fact has hitherto been suspected on general grounds only, but no proof has been adduced.

Special features of the continuation of Newburgh's history.

The present preface has run to so great a length that it is impossible to do more here than to call attention to the principal contributions of this chronicle to our historical knowledge. There is much that is fresh in the account of John's cruelties and exactions, including some details as to Peter of Pontefract, and a summary of the story as to the wife of Eustace Fitz-John, which shows that Knighton, the 14th century chronicler, is right. Then follow interesting facts as to Louis' invasion in 1216–17, and the text of the Bull as to Becket's translation, already noticed. Later, up to the end of the annals, we find valuable notices of parliaments and grants of revenue to the king, and an entirely original account of affairs leading up to the battle of Lewes—giving us, on p. 544, a few interesting words quoted, it would seem, from the lost "Mise of Lewes." Then we find a few new details as to the battle of Evesham, and as to the local struggles which followed, including an incident, years later, concerning earl Ferrers. Finally, there are entries throughout as to the affairs of the Isle

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[1] p. 528. It is printed in the *Fœdera* from Lupus, who took his copy, I believe, from Vatican MS. 1220.

of Man of much interest, and there are useful dates respecting ecclesiastical occurrences.[1]

MANUSCRIPTS EMPLOYED.

Following the order of the previous portion of this preface, precedence will be given to an account of the unique MS. of the *Draco Normannicus*, and then the two MSS. from which the continuation of Newburgh is derived, will be described. The original sources of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* have been sufficiently placed before the reader in the preface to Vol. I., pp. xxxix. to xlix.

(I.)

Description of the MS. of the *Draco Normannicus* now in the Vatican Library.

The MS. Reg. 3081 in the Vatican Library, containing the *Draco Normannicus*, is written on paper in hands of the 15th century. The specimen given in fac-simile will perhaps incline readers to the opinion that the date of the transcript is a little later than 1450. The height of the page is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the width $6\frac{1}{8}$. The paper is of the strong coarse character familiar to collectors of the earliest printed books, and the paper mark in the portion of the volume[2] which contains the *Draco* is a form of pole-axe. The blade is a segment of a circle, about a quadrant, cut off by a straight chord. The handle is rather short and perfectly plain, and the blade is connected with its handle near to the top of the latter by a very short bar. The chord of the arc is next to and parallel with the handle. A very clear specimen of

Paper-mark.

[1] The present preface affords me no very suitable place for directing attention to Newburgh's story of Ketel (p. 151), as connected with the Purgatory Legends of the 12th century. Miss L. Toulmin-Smith has kindly made me aware of Mr. Thomas Wright's views on this subject set forth in his essay on "St. Patrick's Purgatory."

[2] *Fo.* 106 to *fo.* 160.

this mark appears on *fo.* 152.[1] The binding of the volume is quite recent, but the ancient fly-leaves are preserved, and the inner margins of the pages have been repaired by the binder. Their former condition probably caused the entire loss of *fo.* 128 and *fo.* 139.[2]

Hand-writing.

The poem was not transcribed by one hand. From *fo.* 106 to *fo.* 155 is the work of at least five different scribes, one of them being the writer who finishes the poem, and who adds the fragment as to Henry's voyage[3] as well as the extract from Merlin's prophecy, which occurs on *fo.* 159. He also winds up with the words, *non plus reperi*, shown in the fac-simile.[4]

Within the major divisions there are some variations of hand, but the points of demarcation are not always very definite, and the foot-notes on this subject are offered with some reservation.

The work of the annotator "M."

There was yet another hand concerned in the production of the MS. as it now appears. It may be permissible to theorise so far as to say that the copying was performed by various monks, and that the curious marginal notes, given in the present edition as foot-notes and distinguished by the letter "M.," are the work of their prior. His hand added "*in exemplari*" to the "*non plus reperi*" referred to above; and he it was who left us the task of interpreting the interesting note on *fo.* 158 *b.*:

> *Libellum istum sumpsi ex quodam parvo antiquo libro, quem mihi concessit cum m. m. R. b., et erat ille liber, ut credo, de ab de b. ħ.*

Whether *cum m. m. R.* means *cum mansuetudine, magister R.*, or *cum magna mansuetudine, R.*, must

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[1] Not delineated in Sotheby's "Typography." In other parts of the volume anchors and winged dragons are frequent.

[2] I satisfied myself that these are not accidentally misplaced, but are actually missing.

[3] p. 760.

[4] See the fac-simile opposite the title-page of the present volume.

be left to the opinion of each reader; so also must the suggestion that *R. b.* means *R. bibliothecarius*, but it is hardly open to doubt that the final letters convey the meaning, "de abbatia de Becco Helluini." It seems unlikely, too, that anyone but an abbot or prior would make a note in the first person on work done by other hands. It is the natural style of an official superior, not of a fellow monk, to say *sumpsi* when the labour implied by that word has been done vicariously. This same prior—we have elsewhere assigned him the title for convenience—wrote the list of ornaments given to the abbey of Bec by the empress Maud, which is found on *fo.* 158 *b.*

Contents of the MS. Ottob. 3081.

Dismissing the subject of handwriting, it is now desirable to describe briefly the general contents of the volume.

A 15th century hand has done this for us, on *fo.* 1, in a somewhat too summary way:—

> In hoc papiro continentur aliquæ cronicæ Romanorum pontificum et Imperatorum ac regum Franciæ imperfecte, cum Dracone Normannico et epistolis quibusdam universitatis Parisius super materia unionis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ.

This does not meet modern requirements. We must therefore proceed to details [1]:—

Fo. 2. Extracts relating to Charlemagne.

3. Materials as to the lives of certain popes, which the compiler notes as "*scribenda in fine meæ Martinianæ*" (a copy of this compilation is in Bibl. Nat. MS. Fonds Latin 11,889, *fo.* 57).

38. Notes respecting the kings of France, from Philip Augustus to Charles V. (also in MS. Fonds Latin 11,889, *fo.* 87).

45. A fragmentary genealogy of the kings of France (from Bernard Gui).

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[1] Those items in this list which do not directly relate to the *Draco Normannicus* are taken from M. Léopold Delisle's "Notice sur vingt MSS. du Vatican," (Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1876, p. 470-527). My time at Rome was too limited to permit of careful investigation into matters not *directly* connected with my work.

49. Notes, in French, as to events in France from 1349 to about 1418.

71*b*. A short Latin poem, "*Quid ultra tibi facere.*"

72. Various recipes.

74. *Liber Alperici Calculatoris.*

99. Fragments of the Salic Law and the Capitularies (the compiler, M. Delisle says, refers on *fo.* 104 to a text of the Law he had seen at Saint-Denis).

106. The "*Draco Normannicus.*"

159. An extract from the prophecy of Merlin.

159. List of ornaments given by the empress Maud to the abbey of Bec.

159*b*. Fragment of a poem as to Henry II.

162*b*. A letter of pope Pius II., dated 10th November, 1463.

165 to 185*b*. Three letters from the University of Paris, one dated 6 June, 1394; a letter from the University of Cologne to that of Paris; a letter beginning "*paucis* "*abhinc, pater beatissime, diebus exactis nobis in mentem* "*venerat* . . . ."

Two MSS. of the *Draco Normannicus* are known to have existed: both probably belonged to the abbey of S. Victor, Paris.

M. Delisle records his conviction that the ancient pagination of the MS. is in the handwriting of one of the librarians of the abbey of Saint Victor at Paris, and he observes that the part of the first folio, which would, according to the custom of the abbey, have borne the usual anathema against anyone attempting to steal the volume, is now cut away.

These observations from one who is at once so well able to judge of such matters, and so familiar with the actual volumes which composed the St. Victor Library, must have great weight, as also should his statement that he sees a strong analogy between the contents and methods of compilation of MS. Fonds Latin 14,663 [*olim S. Victoris*], and of MS. Ottobon. 3081.

The present editor having examined MS. Fonds Latin 14,663, making a fac-simile of a few words from it, and having a few days afterwards, when in Rome, compared those words with the contents of MS. Ottobon. 3081, is able to say with some confidence that, although the analogy which M. Delisle traces is clear, it does not appear that any of the writers of the Vatican volume actually took part in the compilation of the Paris MS.

Another fact which M. Delisle brings to light is an entry in the early 16th century catalogue of the library of St. Victor, made by Claude de Grandrue, which now forms MS. Fonds Latin 14,767. This catalogue shows, under the press-mark BBB. 12, the following :—

> Cronica Normanniæ in Gallico ab Hastingo, eorum duce, usque ad Annum Domini 1223, a folio 1 usque 40. Draco Normannicus, in metro, continens tres libros partiales. Prohemium, 41. Liber primus, 49. Secundus, 77. Tercius, 101. Prophecia Merlini de seniore Henrico et juniore, 122. Quædam alia, 123. *A. veult mourir.* B. *defficit ille timor,* C. 124.

Thus the abbey of St. Victor, on M. Delisle's supposition, once owned two copies of the *Draco*, for the number of folios specified in the above extract at once negatives any idea of the identity of "BBB. 12" with MS. Ottobon. 3081. The former has long since disappeared;[1] the latter, after strange vicissitudes, has reappeared.

The MS. now in the Vatican perhaps, originally stolen from the monks of S. Victor.

Probably, like its duplicate and many other volumes, it was stolen from the monks of St. Victor, and fell, in 1647, certainly by honest purchase, into the hands of a new and distinguished possessor, who announces himself on *fo.* 2 as "Alexander Pauli filius Petavius, Senator "Parisiensis, Anno 1647."

It became the property of Alexander Petau in 1647, and from him passed to queen Christina of Sweden.

The way in which it subsequently came into the hands of Christina, queen of Sweden, is shown by the following title on p. 61, Vol. I. of Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* (A.D. 1739) :—

> Catalogus Alphabeticus Manuscriptorum codicum qui extabant in Bibliotheca Alexandri Petavii, ac deinde divenditi, in Sueciam sunt transportati; nunc autem plurimâ parte asservantur Romæ in Bibliotheca Reginæ Sueciæ. 1660.

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[1] Indeed is noted in the MS. catalogue as having been stolen: "Furto sublatum est. Noté perdu "par le P. Picard et ne s'est "point trouvé depuis."

Some of queen Christina's MSS. were given to the Vatican Library in 1690. MS. Ottob. 3081, seen in the Vatican by Montfaucon about 1739.

After the death of the queen in Rome her MSS. came by succession[1] to the family of Ottobuoni. In the year 1690 pope Alexander VIII., as head of that family, placed 1,900 of them in one of the galleries of the Vatican. There our volume was seen about 1739 by Montfaucon, who, on p. 41 in Vol. I. of his great work, mentions it thus under the number 1267, *in Bibl. Reg. Sueciæ in Vaticana*:—

> 1267. Anonymi Gesta quorumdam imperatorum Romanorum ac regum Francorum. Multa ibi sunt de Bonifacio VIII. Elperici Calculatoris Liber de Astrologia. Anonymi Normannicus Draco, versus continent Historiam Matildis imperatricis Francorum, Anglorum, et Normannorum; quædam ibi habentur de Synodis sub Victore et Alexandro II. (*sic*). Epistola Universitatis Parisiensis ad Carolum VI. super Schismate sedando, et unione Ecclesiæ. Ejusdem Universitatis ad Clementem VII., Papam et Collegium Cardinalium epistola. Studii Coloniensis ad Universitatem Parisiensem et Universitatis Parisiensis ad idem studium.

The MS. next appears in the library of baron Philip de Stosch, A.D. 1756.

There at the end of the 17th century it had been seen by the Benedictines, who took the extracts from it which are now at Paris in MS. Fonds Latin 11,889 (*fo.* 57 to *fo.* 95). It did not, however, stop there long, for it not only now contains a book-plate bearing the name and arms of "Philip de Stosch L. B.," but it also appears in the catalogue of that nobleman's books prepared for the sale of his library at Florence on 16th January 1756.[2]

The MS. is again deposited in the Vatican; but,

How the MS. returned to the Vatican is a matter for conjecture. Probably it did not return among the second and final gift of the MSS. of the Ottobuoni

[1] Edwards, "Hist. of Libraries."

[2] *Bibliotheca Stoschiana sive catalogus librorum bibliothecæ Philippi baron. de Stosch, quorum auctio habebitur Florentiæ die* 16 *Januarii* 1756 *et seqq. diebus*: *Lucæ*, 1758 (sic). This reference is given by M. Delisle, who states that the *Draco* MS. occurs on p. 16 of the list of MSS., with shelf-mark A. XCII. The only Stosch catalogue at the Brit. Museum (126 a. 11) is dated 1759.

family, for this happened in 1746, and in 1756, as we have seen, baron Stosch owned it. All we are sure of is that when Dom Brial's friends at Rome searched for the volume, about 1810, it could not be found by the reference "Reg. 1267." Probably it was recognised and purchased at the baron's sale, and, through some pardonable confusion between queen Christina's MSS. and the later Ottobonian collection, the MS. found its way into its present resting place among the latter.

being misplaced, unavailing search is made for it in 1810.

How long before 1854, the year in which he died, cardinal Mai knew of the existence of the poem is not certain, but Dr. Pauli writes :[1]—

Cardinal Mai's discovery of the MS. became known a considerable time before 1854 to Dr. Pertz and Dr. Pauli, but was not revealed.

"It appears that the MS. was not forthcoming when the late "Record Commission sent emissaries to the continental libraries, "though I happen to know that Dr. Pertz, much about the same "time, obtained a copy with the purpose of printing it in the "*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica.*"

Thus we ascertain that, though a considerable number of years ago the MS. was known to have reappeared, there was a good deal of cautious reserve exhibited by Dr. Pauli, no less than by the persons of whom he seems a little inclined to complain. Be this as it may, all mystery disappeared when the poem was published under the editorship of Father Joseph Cozza in 1871.

Whether Cardinal Mai's transcript was badly written, or whether Father Cozza was prevented from comparing his proof sheets with this MS. "scripturæ perdifficilis," does not appear ; but certainly Dr. Pauli's strictures are more just than courteous. The opening lines of the *Proœmium,* to the number of 50, are purposely omitted, two lines elsewhere have been accidentally overlooked, and misreadings and misprints abound. Still, whatever contempt Dr. Pauli shows for the edition and for the notes attached by Father Cozza, we must not here fail

Cardinal Mai's edition of the "*Draco,*" published in 1871.

[1] "The Academy," 1 Sept. 1872.

either to state that he has given many useful clues, or to thank him accordingly.

The appearance of the poem caused a considerable stir among French scholars, more particularly of course those who took a special interest in Normandy. Thus we find in the "Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie," ii. p. 9, that M. Léopold Delisle, in 1875, advised the publication of the poem by the society, and it appears from the "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes" for 1876 (pp. 470–527),[1] that M. Delisle, when in Rome, applied himself to the work of collation "assez rigou-" reusement pour n'avoir plus besoin de recourir au "MS. unique du Vatican."

About the same time (31st March 1875, and 5th April 1877) Dr. Charles Fierville made the poems of Etienne de Rouen, including the *Draco Normannicus*, the subject of two interesting lectures delivered before the Sorbonne. These lectures, which are published in Vol. VIII. of the "Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie," have a literary rather than a historical bearing, but are nevertheless very valuable contributions to the elucidation of the subject before us.

French edition of the "*Draco*."

Lastly, about February 1884, appeared an edition of the *Draco Normannicus*, published at Rouen for the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, by M. Henri Omont. This work includes the miscellaneous poems from MS. Fonds Lat. 14,146, and also some short specimens of Etienne's prose.[2]

It was, perhaps, prepared from M. Delisle's collation, for it is clearly founded on Cardinal Mai's work, omit-

[1] On pp. 32–36 of M. Delisle's separate pamphlet entitled, "Notice "sur vingt MSS. du Vatican," a copy of which that gentleman most kindly sent to me.

[2] It, however, omits the list of ornaments (see p. 758), and the fragment of a poem as to Henry's crossing the sea in a storm (p. 760). The former is referred to in the *Draco* (p. 712, *ll.* 31, 32) as appended, and should therefore have been regarded as an integral part of the work.

ting the two lines which the cardinal omits,[1] and following him in such errors as *Nam primus* for *Dani sumus* (p. 625, *l.* 915). From internal evidence the work would appear to have been done by first reading a line in the printed copy and then comparing it with the MS., a course which seems to bring before us the overworked *savant* who was preparing the "*Notice sur Vingt MSS. du Vatican*"—a mine of learning in itself—rather than an editor revising a final edition.[2]

Another defect in this volume is the absence of preface, historical notes, and index. There is an "*Avis*" which imperfectly explains this circumstance, but though it shows that the editor is not to be blamed,[3] it by no no means consoles the reader for the loss of introductory information essential for the appreciation of the poem. Very sincere thanks are still due from the present editor to M. Omont for the assistance his labours have afforded. A lost 12th-century MS. represented by a copy made in a 15th-century hand, and with the usual 15th-century carelessness,[4] offers a very serious problem to any one who desires to prepare a satisfactory edition, and it is possible that a critical reader may decide that more should have been done by the present editor as regards the emendation of obscure passages, though it is believed that nothing remains which could be a real stumbling-block to a student of history.

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[1] p. 647, *ll.* 1489-90.

[2] The Rouen edition has eliminated about 230 of the errors which deface cardinal Mai's posthumous work, but my collation with the MS. at Rome discovered no less than 142 additional mistakes—wrong words or wrong inflections—and many minor errors and omissions. These are attributable to the circumstances in which, as I believe, the French edition was prepared, but I have nothing except inference to guide me as to this.

[3] The impatience of the society seems to have caused the book to be prematurely issued.

[4] As exemplified by the two XV. cent. copies of Newburgh's history.

II.

The continuation of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* now for the first time printed from MSS. Bodl., Digby 11, and Cott., Cleop. A. 1.

The continuation of William of Newburgh's celebrated history which is printed in the present volume (pp. 503 to 583) is derived, as has already been stated, from two MSS., one in the Bodleian Library (MS. Digby 11), the other in the British Museum (Cott. Cleop. A. 1). The former, Digby 11, is a small ill-written 13th cent. volume in poor condition. The pages measure about 5½ inches by 4½, and the lines extend across the page. The book contains a treatise "De Angelis," the Itinerary of Odoric the Franciscan under the title, "De mirabilibus Indiæ," and several theological and philosophical tractates. The historical portion begins on *fo.* 149 and ends on *fo.* 187. The earlier part is a "Brut" chronicle, but on *fo.* 174*b.* begin the original annals which we have termed from internal evidence the "Stanley chronicle."

MS. Bodl. Digby 11.

MS. Cott., Cleop. A. 1.

The Cottonian MS. Cleopatra A. 1., is an octavo volume written on parchment in 14th-century hands, and contains 212 leaves. The bulk of it, that is from *fo.* 1 to *fo.* 114*b.* and from *fo.* 174 to the end, is written in double columns each containing about 28 lines. The middle portion is in more than one hand and is very closely written, with 34 lines to the page. The reign of Henry I. concludes on *fo.* 114 *b.* towards the end of the second column, and a few of the opening words of the 23rd chapter of the 1st book of Newburgh's history —absurdly out of place—complete the page. The part already referred to as more closely written now begins with the 4th chapter of book I. of the "*Historia Rerum* "*Anglicarum*," and the writer copies or summarises to the end of the work. The last words from Newburgh occur on *fo.* 172*b*, col. 2, and the same hand proceeds with some passages borrowed from Hoveden to the end of *fo.* 173 *b.* Thence the hand which began the volume resumes with the words, "*de Glovernia eo* "*quod fuerunt affines,*" and finishes the chronicle on

fo. 207 *b.*, at the end of the first column. Some historical notes as to the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. conclude the MS. There is, on the fly-leaf at the beginning, the note: "*Cottonianæ Bibliothecæ donavit Jacobus Usserius Armachanus.*"

It is this MS. which has passed for a distinct work by William of Newburgh. This error was propagated by Pits, who gives (*De illustr. Angl. Scriptt.*, p. 270) a list of Newburgh's writings containing the item:—

"*De Regibus Anglorum, libri duo.*—Primum ostendenda est "origo causæ."

These opening words occur after a blank page on *fo.* 97 *b.* of the MS. we have just described.

The foregoing introduction being long and tedious, though unavoidably so, I must conclude by briefly offering my best thanks to Bishop Stubbs, Sir G. W. Dasent, Monsignor Ciccolini, Prefect of the Vatican Library, Mr. W. Bliss of Rome, Miss L. Toulmin-Smith, MM. Léopold Delisle, Gaston Paris, Ch. Fierville, and Henri Omont, to Mr. Newenham Travers, the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and my old friend Mr. Walter Rye. By valuable suggestions or by kind assistance they have much lightened my labours.

I may, perhaps, take this opportunity of stating again that it is proposed to include the chronicle of Robert of Torigni in the series of twelfth-century treatises I am at present editing.

RICHARD HOWLETT.

Bromley, Kent,
26th May, 1885.

CORRECTIONS.

p. 608, line 432, erase the comma *after* "Egidii."

p. 660, line 30, *for* "essse" *read* "esse."

p. 667, line 218, restore the comma which has fallen away from the end of the line.

p. 669, margin opposite line 282, *for* "the" *read* "he."

p. 688, line 769, *for* the full stop after "unum" *substitute* a comma.

p. 701, line 1100, erase the comma *after* "Oritur."

p. 702, note [1], *for* "hiuc" *read* "hinc."

p. 742, note [1], *for* "Turonibus" *read* "Turonis," the mediæval form of the locative, used even when the author writes *Turonim* as the accusative.

p. 747, line 1107, restore comma *after* "Alamannis."

p. 760, line 8, *for* "onogrifis" *read* "ovo grifis." *See* Glossary.

LIBER QUINTUS.

A.D. 1194—1198.

u 13836. Wt. 7908.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI QUINTI.[1]

[1] D. omits the elenchus.

[2] *sint*, S.; *sunt*, C.

[3] *sunt*, C.; *sint*, S.

[4] *transfretavit*, S.; *transfretaret*, C.

[5] *quidam*, om. C.

[6] *successerit*, S.; *successit*, C.

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[1] *vertitur*, S.; *vertebatur*, C
[2] *prima* (sic) in C. and S.
[3] *Macumeto*, S.; *Macometo*, C.
[4] *quomodo*, om. C.S.
[5] C. has *ne*.
[6] C. reads *Cademensis*.

Expliciunt capitula.

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[1] *Heliensis* in C.
[2] *potius*, S.; om. C.
[3] *Tolosanum*, S.; *Tholosanum*, C.
[4] *concordia*, S.; *discordia*, C.
[5] *apud Andelaicum*, S.; *ad Anderslaie*, C., on an erasure.

INCIPIT LIBER[1] QUINTUS.

Cap. I.

Quæ acta sint[2] a rege in Anglia post coronationem suam antequam transfretaret.

Rex igitur post coronationis suæ sollemnia tempore modico in Anglia demoratus, rerum[3] statum, tanquam tunc[4] primum rex factus, de novo curavit disponere; et fere quicquid illi placuisse videbatur in sui novitate prima, mutandum atque innovandum duxit in secunda. Denique regnum, quod iter Orientale arrepturus, ut suo loco plenius dictum est, multifariam sciderat, ad integritatem satagens pristinam reformare,[5] quicquid ab illo tunc fuerat vel leviter datum vel ponderose venundatum, sub nomine repetiit commodati. Nec cuiquam fas erat ratione cujuslibet vel[6] pacti vel tituli vel instrumenti perfunctorium jus tueri, dum omnes magnitudinis regiæ mole premerentur, nec quisquam auderet ei dicere: "Nolo multa "fortitudine contendas[7] mecum, nec magnitudinis "tuæ mole me premas." Astu tamen mollius loquebatur, regiarum dicens possessionum emptoribus: "Non "decet vos sublimitati[8] regiæ fœnerari: si ergo sor-"tem vestram de fructibus rerum nostrarum jam "percepistis, ea[9] contenti esse debetis; si quo minus,

A.D. 1194.

The king resumes the lands which he granted away before the crusade.

Job. xxiii. 6.

[1] *liber*, om. B.D.
[2] C. has *sunt*.
[3] C. has *rectum*.
[4] *tunc*, B.D.R.S.; *nunc*, C.
[5] B. has *reformaret*.
[6] *vel*, B.D.R.S.; om. C.
[7] D. has *contendens*.
[8] B. has *nos sublimari*.
[9] *ea*, B.D.R.S.; *eo*, C.

A.D. 1194.

"supplebo de proprio, omnem amputans occasionem "retentionis. Novit enim prudentia vestra rescriptum sedis Apostolicæ quo prohibeamini regi proprio "sortem vestram excedendo fœnerari, mihi, suo tempore, si forte necesse sit, minime defuturum." Denique illi regiæ imminentiæ[1] metu attoniti, et tunc demum artem intuentes qua eos in sumptus Ierosolymitanæ profectionis nudarat[2] pecuniis, nec[3] levi quidem quæstione habita de sorte minus percepta, universa resignarunt. Nam nec Dunelmensis episcopus, qui comitatum Scottorum finibus proximum gravi summa comparatum per aliquot jam annos possederat, in hac parte præ ceteris privilegium habuit, sed comes esse desinens, in simplicem episcopum rediit;[4] sicque illi tanta opera et tanta pecunia periit, quæ utique illi non perisset si piis aptata usibus in cœlestes thesauros abisset. Qui nimirum animum[5] principis minus sibi arridentis ex vultus mutatione conjectans,[6] non exspectata repetitione comitatum resignavit, nec tamen, ut dicitur, commodis amplioribus insatiabiliter inhiantem satis placavit. Præterea rex sive pro liberandis obsidibus[7] apud imperatorem relictis, sive etiam in sumptus belli cum rege Francorum gerendi, tributum minus usitatum universo regno indixit, a singulis scilicet carucatis terræ indifferenter geminatum solidum exigens, vacantibus clericorum, religiosorum, et quorumlibet aliorum privilegiis. Præsentibus quoque ad congratulandum illi quibusdam majoribus Cisterciensis ordinis abbatibus: "Devotionem," inquit,[8] "vestram et liberalitatem circa nos, qua potissimum sub-

Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, loses the earldom of Northumberland which he had purchased.

A land tax of two shillings on the carucate imposed on clergy and laity alike.

Richard borrows money on the wool belonging to the Cistercians.

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[1] *regiæ imminentiæ*, B.C.D.S.; R. has *regiæ imminente*.

[2] C. has *nudaret*.

[3] *ne*, D.

[4] From Hoveden (iii. 261) this appears to have happened about July.

[5] *animum*, om. B.

[6] *connectam*, B.

[7] C. has *obsidiis*.

[8] *inquit*, om. B.

A.D. 1194.

"stantiæ vestræ, id est, vellera ovium vestrarum, "redemptioni nostræ impendistis, ut dignum est, ap-"probamus, et uberiorem suo tempore, si vita comes "fuerit, rependere gratiam pro gratia ista[1] cogitamus. "Ut autem vobis perpetuæ simus gratiæ debitores, "oportet ut adhuc semel vestrum ad nos declarantes "affectum, lanam vestram anni præsentis nobis non "gravemini commodare. Nam cum ab imperatore "dimissi in multa paupertate ad propria tenderemus, "confisi de vobis, urgentissima necessitate, a trans-"marinis mercatoribus in usus necessarios ejusdem "lanæ vestræ pretium sumpsimus, quod procul dubio "ad scaccarium nostrum mensis Octobris probatæ "caritati vestræ cum gratiarum actione reddemus." Hoc modo religiosos illos quasi blandiendo spolians, clarissimis monasteriis egestatem insolitam irrogavit.

Leaving archbishop Hubert as administrator of the kingdom, Richard embarks with an army for Normandy (May 12)

Rebus igitur in Anglia dispositis, et viro industrio,[2] Cantuariensi scilicet[3] archiepiscopo, principali procuratore regni constituto, exercitu quoque Anglico, qui cum eo transfretaret, ordinato, descendit ad mare. Ubi accepto de transmarinis partibus nuntio, quod Francorum copiæ irruptionem in Normanniam meditantes convenissent, cum gravi tædio transfretandi opportunitatem exspectans, sæpiusque elementa incusans, tandem, auris ad votum spirantibus, transfretavit, susceptusque a suis cum gratulationibus, sua præsentia post longum torporem ad præclaram fiduciam animos eorum erexit.

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[1] *ista*, B.D.S.; om. C.
[2] D. has *industriæ*.
[3] *scilicet*, C.D.S.; om. B.

Cap. II.

Quæ acta sunt[1] *inter regem Anglorum et inimicos ejus postquam transfretavit.*

A.D. 1194.

The king of France besieges Verneuil.

Interea rex Francorum Vernullium oppidum munitissimum, quod olim pater ejus incassum obsederat, cum infinitis copiis, paternæ in hac parte sortis heres futurus, obsedit. Rex autem Anglorum opportune suis in Normannia redditus, contracto paulatim exercitu, non longe a Vernullio,[2] apud castellum quod dicitur Aquila castra posuit. Cumque[3] per dies aliquot ibidem consedisset,[4] Francorum exercitus conserendi cum eo prœlii discrimen declinans, postquam in oppugnatione oppidi multo cassoque labore sudaverat, soluta obsidione recessit. Porro rex eorum, tanquam ad detergendum pudendæ recessionis dedecus, urbem Ebroicensem,[5] quam prius spoliarat,[6] pervicaci furore evertit; nec celeberrimæ in illis regionibus ecclesiæ beati Taurini pepercit: cum enim eandem incendi jussisset, et nullus ex tanto exercitu, divini timoris intuitu, nefariæ jussionis executor exsisteret, ipse, ut dicitur, cum quibusdam perditis[7] ex illo hominum genere quos Ribaldos vocant ingressus, sacris ædibus ignem immisit. Denique, ut fertur, quod ex eadem ecclesia sublatum est, Carnotensi civitati illatum,[8] eidem clarissimæ[9] civitati quasi ignis fuit: quæ nimirum consequenter

Soon after Richard's approach the French retreat (May 30).

Destruction of Evreux (before July 4).

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[1] *sunt*, B.C.; *sint*, D.S.

[2] *Vernullio*, D.S.; *Vernulio*, B.C.

[3] *Cumque*, B.D.R.S.; *cum*, C.

[4] B. has *concedisset*.

[5] *Eboroicensem*, C. Diceto (ii. 115) says that, "*ne nil videretur* "*egisse*," Philip went straight to Fontaines near Rouen, destroyed the castle and retired. Hoveden (iii. 255) states that Philip, after leaving Verneuil, agreed to a conference at Pont de l'Arche, but instead of attending it went to Fontaines and attacked the castle. In the mean time Richard took Loches (June 13), and *then* ensued the destruction of Evreux.

[6] *spoliarat*, C.D.S.; *spoliavit*, B.

[7] *perditis*, B.D.S.; *perfidis*, C.

[8] *illatum . . . civitati*, C.D.S.; om. B

[9] C. has *idem carissimæ*.

pæne usque ad consumptionem fuit in combustionem et cibus ignis. Bellum igitur inter duos reges magnos, alternantibus circa partes, ut assolet, dextris sinistrisque casibus, gerebatur. Verum regis Anglorum, quem paulo ante et thesauris dura spoliarat captivitas et, occasione captivitatis, integritate finium suorum hostilis mutilarat immanitas, feliciores post tantam circa eum fortunæ malitiam successus fuere. Quippe in hoc bello nec unius passum pedis de terra possessionis suæ perdidit, et de munitionibus quæ illi[1] perierant castellum nobile, quod Luches dicitur, cum quibusdam aliis bellica sorte recepit.[2] Hostium quoque fines ingressus, nonnullis fortiter et prospere gestis, Vindocinum[3] veniens, ibidem per dies aliquot exercitum recreavit. Rex autem Francorum, cum eum hinc abisse putaret, non longe a Vindocino[4] castra locavit; sed hostis vicinitate[5] comperta, de nocte recessit.[6] Mane facto rex Anglorum abeuntem exercitum persecutus, regis fugientis plaustra et clitellas cum quibusdam arcanis et gaza multiplici variaque supellectili comprehendit.

A.D. 1194.

Richard regains the castle of Loches (June 13).

He goes to Vendôme.

Sane ipso tempore infestabatur etiam[7] a quibusdam nequissimis desertoribus in Aquitania, Geofrido[8] scilicet Ranconensi[9] et comite Engolesmensi viris præpotentibus, et Francorum, a quibus in eum instigati erant, fiducia multum ferocibus.[10] Sed filius regis Navarorum, germanus Berengeriæ reginæ Anglorum, cum exercitu Aquitaniam ingressus, terra utriusque desertoris vastata, cum forte paterni decessus nuntium accepisset succes-

Geoffrey of Rancon and the count of Angoulême head an outbreak in Aquitaine.

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[1] *illi*, B.C.S.; *illis*, D.

[2] The events noticed in note 5, p. 418, belong here.

[3] This name here and below has been altered in B. to *Vendonerum* and *Vendomo*.

[4] D. has *Vindocio*.

[5] *vicinitate*, B.D.S.; *in civitate*, C.

[6] This was on July 5 (Hoveden, iii. 255, R. de Dic., 674).

[7] *etiam*, om. B.

[8] *Geoffrido*, B.; *Geodfrido*, C.

[9] *Ranconensi*, C.D.S.; B., by late alteration, *Xantonensi*, and below *Xantonensem*.

[10] They were suppressed before 22 July. See Richard's letter of that date to Archbishop Hubert.

A.D. 1194. sionis gratia ad propria remeavit.[1] Cumque post modicum fatalis memoratum Ranconensem necessitas sustulisset, rex Anglorum cum exercitu superveniens famosissimum castrum ejus, quod dicitur Tailleburch,[2] matura deditione obtinuit, moxque impetum in alium desertorem convertens, civitatem Engolismam cruenta celeritate expugnavit;[3] rege nimirum Francorum dum hæc fierent mollius agente, quem scilicet spe induciarum, de quibus inter eos jam tractabatur, astute suspenderat.

Capture of Angoulême.

Cap. III.

De induciis inter reges statutis, et pace[4] *provinciarum præterquam ab*[5] *exactionibus regiis.*

A.D. 1194.

A truce for a year is concluded about August 1 (July 23).

Anno a partu Virginis M°C° nonagesimo quarto, circa festivitatem principis Apostolorum quæ dicitur *Ad Vincula*, post multam conflictationem et casus varios, mediantibus honoratis, induciæ quas treugas vocant inter reges sancitæ sunt in annum: regi quidem Anglorum per captivitatem multum attenuato ad reparationem virium admodum utiles, licet, ut quibusdam videbatur, parum honestæ, cum intra fines jam breviores Normanniam possideret; sed præponderavit ratio utilitatis, et rebus cum[6] aliquantula etiam honestatis jactura oportuit consuli. Quo facto, modicam laborantes provinciæ pausam recepere.[7] Verum in illa in-

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[1] This was Sancho the Strong. He was on his way to the siege of Loches when he received the news (Hoved. iii. 253). This would therefore have been before June 13. The date, however, usually assigned for the death of Sancho VI. is June 27.

[2] *Tailleburch*, C.D.S.; *Taileburch*, B.

[3] "*In una resperata*," and before July 22 (Hoved. iii. 257).

[4] *et pace*, B.D.S.; *et de pace*, C.

[5] *præterquam ab*, C.D.S.; *postquam*, B.

[6] *rebus cum*, C.R.S.; *rebus præsentibus cum*, B.D.

[7] *recepere*, B.D.S.; *cepere*, C.

A.D. 1194.

terpolatione malorum, exquirendarum ambitu pecuniarum vehementius excanduit in subditos avaritia principum, dum cogitarent cogitationes magis belli quam pacis, et ad futuros se motus modis omnibus præpararent. Denique in hac re nulla vacavit[1] occasio, et ubi forte occasio vel imaginaria defuit, mera tamen per exactores regios ad extorquendum violentia non quievit; illis maxime onera insolita frustra causantibus, qui de superiorum religiosa indulgentia principum ab omni exactione seculari immunes et liberi esse solebant, viri scilicet religiosi. Et memoratorum[2] quidem regum Christianissimi patres præcipui religiosorum patroni et protectores fuisse noscuntur; filios vero minus in hac parte patrissare dolemus. Et quidem rex Anglorum propter inquietam adolescentiam in regni sui primordiis plus formidabatur tanquam immitior princeps futurus. Porro de rege Francorum ob patris memoriam et ætatis teneræ mores innoxios in suis auspiciis meliora sperabantur, atque omne hominum genus imprecabatur illi[3] prospera. At cum a partibus Orientis, ut supra memoratum est, ad propria remeasset, implacabili odio regis Anglorum in virum alterum mutatus est, et tanquam se de illo in propriis ulturus subditis, fere omnibus, et maxime religiosis clericisque, gravis apparuit. Rex vero Anglorum de captivitate reversus, Deo propitio, mitior inventus est. Unde venerabilis Johannes Lugdunensis archiepiscopus,[4] qui ipso forte tempore in Angliam venerat, cum Lundoniis constitutus sederet cum viris honoratis, et plurimi coram eo de proprii principis duritia quererentur: "Nolite," inquit, "sic "loqui: dico enim vobis, quia[5] rex vester in compara-

Fiscal exactions of Richard and Philip from the church.

Saying of John of Poictiers, Archbishop of Lyons, as to the two kings.

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[1] C. has *vocavit.*

[2] C. has *rememoratorum.*

[3] *illi,* B.D.S.; *ei,* C.

[4] John of Poictiers, otherwise John Belesmeins. He had been treasurer of York in 1154, bishop of Poictiers 1162–1181, archbishop of Lyons 1181–1194. Hoveden says he retired from his see and finished his days at Clairvaulx. Diceto (ii. 120) says he visited Canterbury on September 8, 1194.

[5] See note 2, p. 76.

A.D. 1194. "tione regis Francorum heremita est." Et pauca de moribus[1] ejusdem regis subtexens, adjecit eum ætate proxime exacta ita propriis pepercisse thesauris, ut omnes sumptus belli, quod cum rege gerebat Anglorum, ab ecclesiis maximeque monasteriis extorqueret.

Cap. IV.

Quomodo tironum exercitia[2] tempore regis Ricardi esse in Anglia cœperunt.

A.D. 1194.

The king re-introduces the practice of holding tournaments, and makes them at once a source of revenue and a means of training his knights.

Currentibus igitur inter reges induciis, meditationes militares, id est, armorum exercitia, quæ[3] torneiamenta vulgo dicuntur, in Anglia celebrari cœperunt, rege id decernente, et a singulis, qui exerceri vellent, indictæ[4] pecuniæ modulum exigente.[5] Nec movit hæc regia exactio alacritatem juvenum in arma flagrantium quominus flagrarent atque exercendi sollemniter convenirent. Sane hujusmodi, nullo interveniente odio, sed pro solo exercitio atque ostentatione virium concertatio militaris nunquam in Anglia fuisse noscitur nisi in diebus regis Stephani, cum per ejus indecentem mollitiem nullus esset publicæ vigor disciplinæ. Porro temporibus regum priorum, Henrici quoque secundi qui Stephano successit, tironum exercitiis in Anglia prorsus inhibitis, qui forte armorum affectantes gloriam exerceri volebant, transfretantes in terrarum exercebantur confiniis. Considerans igitur illustris[6] rex Ricardus Gallos in conflictibus tanto esse acriores[7]

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[1] For *moribus* D. has *omnibus*.

[2] For *tironum exercitia*, B. has *tyrannum ex tertia* (sic).

[3] B. has *quod*.

[4] *indictæ*, C.R.S.; *indictum*, B.D.

[5] There was a regular scale. An earl paid 20 marks, a baron 10, a knight owning land 4, a knight without estates 2. Theobald Walter, brother of the archbishop, was made collector of this revenue. The charter, dated 20th August 1194, is in the Fœdera, i. 65. *See* Hoveden, iii. 268.

[6] *illustris*, om. C., a marginal correction having been erased.

[7] *acriores*, B.D.S.; *atrociores*, C.

quanto exercitatiores atque instructiores, sui quoque regni milites in propriis finibus exerceri voluit, ut ex bellorum sollemni præludio verorum[1] addiscerent artem usumque bellorum, nec insultarent Galli Anglis militibus tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris. Sciendum vero hujusmodi armorum exercitia tribus generalibus conciliis sub tribus[2] venerabilibus Romanis pontificibus esse prohibita. Unde in concilio Lateranensi Alexander papa; "Felicis," inquit, "memoriæ "papæ Innocentii et Eugenii prædecessorum nostro- "rum vestigiis inhærentes, detestabiles nundinas, quas "vulgo torneiamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex "condicto venire solent, et audacia temeraria con- "grediuntur, unde mortes hominum et animarum "pericula sæpe proveniunt, fieri prohibemus. Quod "si quis eorum ibidem mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei "poscenti pœnitentia non negetur, Christiana tamen "careat sepultura."[3] Cum ergo sollemnem illum tironum concursum tanta sub gravi censura vetet[4] auctoritas, fervor tamen juvenum, armorum vanissime affectantium gloriam, gaudens favore principum probatos habere tirones volentium, ecclesiasticæ provisionis usque in præsens sprevit decretum.

A.D. 1194.

Tournaments had been forbidden by the church on several occasions.

Cap. V.

De reditu Johannis ad fratrem.

Eodem tempore Johannes frater regis Anglorum cum multo dedecore contra fratrem militabat regi Francorum, a quo, scilicet dum frater in Alemannia[5] teneretur, abstractus erat atque illectus, ut ruptis naturæ legibus fraternis hostibus jungeretur. Qui nimi-

A.D. 1194.

Philip finding Prince John no longer use

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[1] B. has *virorum*.
[2] B. has *tribus et*.
[3] *See* Vol. i. pp. 219, 220.
[4] *vetet*, C.D.S.; *vetat*, B.
[5] B. has *Almannia*.

A.D. 1194. rum dum plurimum potuit, regi Francorum honorabilis fuit; ubi vero captis munitionibus quas in Anglia patris vel fratris profusa largitione acceperat, tanquam nihil habens ad nocendum fratri, factus est impotens, sprevit eum rex Francorum, tanquam opera ejus non indigens. Ille autem videns fratrem non modo salvum ad propria remeasse verum etiam[1] bene prosperari, tandem dignatus est ei reconciliari. Itaque, mediante matre, supplex ad fratrem rediit, a quo satis fraterne susceptus, ei[2] de cetero contra regem Francorum fideliter et fortiter militavit, priores excessus novis officiis expians, et fraternam in se caritatem ad plenum reformans. Hugo quoque Nunantinus,[3] Cestrensis episcopus, vir inconstans in omnibus viis suis, qui a facie regis Anglorum, pungente mala conscientia, in Franciam fugerat, eundem regem non modica summa placavit: et[4] episcopatu suo recepto, regiis magis negotiis quam sollicitudinis pastoralis officiis de cetero inservire curavit.

ful, scorns his services.

Queen Eleanor reconciles her sons (May).

Hugh, bishop of Coventry, makes his peace with the king by gifts.

Cap. VI.

Quomodo Stephanus quidam[5] a dæmone delusus est.

A.D. 1193.

Libet hoc loco commemorare quod[6] Stephano[7] procuratori Andegavis[8] contigisse fertur, paulo ante reditum ab Alemannia regis Anglorum. Idem enim

Story as to Stephen, seneschal of Anjou.

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[1] *etiam*, C.D.S.; *et*, B.

[2] *ei*, C.D.S.; *et*, B.

[3] *Nunantinus*, C.S.; *Nonantinus*, B.D.

[4] *et*, B.C.S.; *in*, D.

[5] *Quomodo . . . quidam*, om. B.

[6] *quid*, C.

[7] Stephen de Marzai, otherwise de Turonis or de Turnham. This is the man whose zeal in setting fire to the suburbs of Le Mans increased Henry's difficulties by involving the city in the conflagration. On Henry's death Richard had to get his father's treasure and castles from Stephen by violence, putting him in prison at Winchester and fining him heavily. Hoved. ii. 363; iii. 3.; Bened. ii. 67, 71; Ric. Divis., 6. He is mentioned in the Pipe Roll, 1 Ric. I., p. 8, and in the *Itinerarium*.

[8] *Andegavis*, B.C.S.; *Andegaviæ*, D.

Stephanus ex statu mediocri ad tantæ administrationis[1] culmen a rege Henrico sublevatus, ipso superstite prudentiam atque modestiam in suis actibus ostentavit: filio quoque ejus, regi Ricardo, sic placuit, ut eandem illi administrationem crederet peregre profecturus. Porro ille conjectans delicati corporis principem ex longissimæ et laboriosissimæ peregrinationis magnis certisque periculis vel non vel difficillime posse reverti, in diutina absentia ejus cœpit creditæ sibi potestatis fines excedere, atque ambulare in magnis et mirabilibus super se. Volens autem certissime dignoscere utrum idem princeps ad propria foret reversurus, suadente quodam familiari, quendam Toleti consistentem in artibus curiosis famosum super hoc credidit consulendum, habens divinationis pretium in manibus. Ille vero assumens deludendum hominem in locum secretum, caput illi quoddam adorandum exhibuit: "Quære," inquiens, "ab[2] hoc, sed pauca et "breviter; nam ad multiloquium et ad plura non "respondet." Tum ille: "Num," inquit, "visurus "sum regem Ricardum?" Et respondit nequam spiritus de capite: "Non." Et ille: "Quamdiu," inquit, "durabit mihi administratio suscepta a regibus?" Respondit spiritus: "Usque ad mortem tuam." Tertio quæsivit ubi esset moriturus? Et responsum est: "In "pluma." Nec licuit ei ulterius quærere: sed dimissus a vate, lætus abscessit, concinnatam dæmonis fallaciam suo tempore experturus. Denique præcepit suis, ut modis omnibus præcaverent ne quid sibi plumeum occasione qualibet applicarent sive substernerent: hac sibi cautela vitam longissimam pollicens, cum non esset moriturus nisi in pluma. Cœpit ergo de cetero tanquam præscius futurorum confidentius agere, conculcare subditos, et maxime quendam ex nobilibus,

A.D. 1193.

. cxxx.

He consults a wizard as to the probable duration of his existing powers.

[1] C. reads *ministrationis*.

[2] B. has *ad*.

A.D. 1193. quem suspectum atque exosum habebat, urgere. Qui viribus impar, in quandam munitionem suam fugit a facie insequentis.[1] Ille vero munitionem castris circumdedit, ut eam oppugnaret. Et cum forte circa eam cum paucis negligentius oberraret, qua parte facilius capi posset explorans, repente vir ille, quem ad audendum desperatio stimulabat, cum suis per posticam erumpens, raptum hostem, et quasi judicio Dei in manus suas[2] traditum,[3] muris cum gaudio intulit, et frustra offerentem plurima pro anima sua crudeliter laniatum trucidavit. Munitio vero illa dicebatur Pluma: patuitque cavillatio spiritus illusoris prædicentis[4] quod infelix ille moriturus esset in pluma.[5]

Similar story as to pope Silvester II. (A.D. 1003).

Simile est quod olim contigisse noscitur Gereberto pseudo-papæ;[6] qui nimirum magicis sacrilegiis deditus, quæsivit a capite æneo quando foret moriturus, et responsum est ei: "Quando debebis missam celebrare in Jerusalem." Credens itaque responsum vacillare non posse, et cogitans se nunquam visurum sanctam civitatem Jerusalem, cœpit vivere securus, tanquam nunquam moriturus vel saltem longissime victurus. Porro ignorabat a dæmone dignus illudi, Romæ esse ecclesiam Jerusalem[7] dictam, ubi Romanus pontifex singulis annis consuevit sacra mysteria sollemniter celebrare dominica qua canitur, '*Lætare*

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[1] C. reads *subsequentis*.

[2] D. has *suos*.

[3] The passage from *traditum* to *trucidavit* is written in the margin of D. in the hand that wrote the spurious chapter which in that MS. follows cap. 34. See Preface to Vol. i. p. xlvi.

[4] *præcedentis* in C.

[5] This story, though absurd in many respects, supplies several details as to the life of a man who must have played a considerable part during the king's absence. The fact of his re-appointment after being fined and imprisoned is a curious commentary on the very similar treatment of Ranulf de Glanville.

[6] This is Silvester II., who despite his magical arts cannot be described as *pseudo-papa*. He was pope 999–1003. This story perhaps comes from W. of Malmesb. (i.283).

[7] Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme.

Jerusalem.'[1] Cum ergo et ipse pro tempore exigeretur debitum[2] consuetudinis, tandem vel sero fallacis responsi[3] exhorruit atque expertus est veritatem. A.D. 1193.

Story as to Alberic, earl of Northumberland (after A.D. 1080).

De Alberico[4] quoque comite quondam[5] Northanhimbrorum[6] simile narratur; qui cum esset magnus et potens, proprio statu non contentus ambiebat majora, et consulto dæmone per quendam nefariæ artis sectatorem, audivit quod Græciam esset habiturus. Denique relictis omnibus quæ habebat, partes adiens Orientis, Græciam ingressus est pro fide oraculi. Cumque in Græcia[7] multam incassum moram fecisset, et auditum forte esset a Græcis quod super eos regnaturus advenisset, nudatum bonis[8] omnibus de[9] finibus suis exturbarunt, vix animæ ejus parcentes.[10] Post annos vero fessus laboribus et[11] ærumnis Normanniam rediit, et benigne susceptus est pro agnitione veteri a rege Henrico: qui fesso volens in reliquum providere, viduam ei nobilem cum omni patrimonio suo despondit. Cui mulieri cum in sollemni benedictione a sacerdote diceretur: "Domina Græcia, complacet tibi in homine isto?" sic enim illa dicebatur; tunc demum ille agnovit astutiam spiritus illusoris, qui mentem cupidam in spem vanam erexerat, prædicendo quod Græciam esset habiturus.

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[1] In 1003 this day was March 8, but pope Silvester II. died on May 11. Malmesbury says, "ibi "cantat missam papa tribus Do-"minicis quibus prætitulatur, *Sta-*"*tio ad Jerusalem.*"

[2] D. has *debitam.*

[3] *responsis* in C.

[4] He preceded Robert de Mowbray as Earl of Northumberland, but seems to have been deprived for inefficiency. *Sym. Dunelm.* (Twysden, col. 205, *l.* 17).

[5] *quondam,* C.D.S.; om. B.

[6] *Northanhimbrorum,* D.S.; *Northamhimbrorum,* B.; *Northanhumbrorum,* C.

[7] *Græcia,* B.D.; *Græciam,* C.S.

[8] For *nudatum bonis,* B. has *auditum a bonis.*

[9] *de,* om. B.

[10] B. has *parentes*; in D. the word has been corrected from *parentes.*

[11] For *et* C. has *etiam.*

Cap. VII.

Quomodo ceciderit regnum Normannorum in Sicilia.

A.D. 1194.

The emperor Henry VI. takes possession of the entire kingdom of Sicily.

Iisdem[1] diebus florentissimum Siciliæ regnum, quod a Wischardo[2] incipiens plus annis centum statum immobilem habuisse dignoscitur, casus magis malitia quam vi[3] externa expugnatum,[4] cum annexis provinciis, scilicet Campania, Apulia, [5] Calabria, in imperatoris Teutonici ditionem transivit. Quod ut competentius exponatur, narrationis exordium altius sumendum est.

Sicilian history from the time of Robert Guiscard.

Tempore igitur Willelmi senioris, qui debellavit gentem Anglorum, Wischardus,[6] mediocri loco ex Normannia oriundus, cum eidem regi militans minus proficeret et propriæ virtutis confidentia nesciret humili contentus esse fortuna, relicta patria cum paucis comitibus Apuliam profectus est. Cumque ibi præclare militaret, exemplo ejus incitati paulatim ad eum confluxere[7] ex gente ejus viri inopes, et commodis amplioribus inhiantes, factusque est[8] eorum princeps: illos quoque, quibus paulo ante militaverat, cum malignari[9] et fraudare inciperent, in brevi subjugavit; ususque procurrente fortuna, ita invaluit ut opulentissimis provinciis Apulia et Calabria in potestatem redactis, mira successuum felicitate regno quoque Siciliæ potiretur. Nec contentus hac gloria, Græciam hostiliter ingressus, imperatoris Constantinopolitani provincias occupavit: eundem bello congressum, fusis ejus copiis, inglorium fugere compulit.

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[1] *iisdem*, S.; *his*, B.C.D.

[2] *Wischardo*, S.; *Wiscardo*, B.C.D.

[3] B. has *in* for *vi*.

[4] C. has *pugnatum*.

[5] B. and D. insert *et* before *Calabria*.

[6] *Wischardus*, S.; *Wiscardus*, B.C.D.

[7] B. has *conflixere*.

[8] *est*, C.S.; om. B.D.

[9] D. alone has the form *malignare*.

A.D. 1194.

Quo reparante bellum, et latissimi contrahente vires imperii, ille a Romano pontifice, qui ab imperatore Teutonico infestabatur, accepto mandato ut beati Petri ecclesiæ sub omni celeritate subveniret, reliquit in Græcia cum exercitu filium Boamundum,[1] ipse vero, assumpta parte militiæ, concitus in Italiam rediit. Factumque[2] est, supra modum arridentibus prosperis, ut una[3] die de utroque imperatore, felicitate non dispari triumpharet: de imperatore quidem Teutonico per semetipsum in Italia, de imperatore vero Constantinopolitano per filium in Græcia. Verum non multo post sollicitatæ ab eodem imperatore uxoris absumptus veneno,[4] quam vanum sit omne quod seculare est tantæ felicitatis infelici exitu declaravit. Reliquit autem filiis amplissimæ acquisitionis jus universum: qui et egregie post ipsum in multa felicitate et gloria imperasse noscuntur, Græcis Affrisque terribiles, imperatoribus quoque Teutonicis inaccessi. Denique cucurrit clarissimæ successionis series usque ad Willelmum[5] Willelmi filium: qui cum illustrissimi regis Anglorum Henrici filiam duxisset uxorem, non susceptis ex ea liberis, immatura morte præreptus est. Cui successit arbitrio et electione optimatum Thancredus[6] nothus, cunctis Teutonicam aspernantibus ditionem, quippe Constantia defuncti regis amita, cui[7] eo defuncto jus successionis competere videbatur, Henrico Frederici imperatoris Teutonici filio nupserat, qui nimirum, patre, ut supra expositum est, in expeditione Orientali defuncto, imperatoriam successione

Death of Robert Guiscard (July 17, 1085).

Death of William the Good (16 Nov. 1189).

[1] B. has *Roamundum.*

[2] *factumque,* C.S.; *factum,* B.D.

[3] C. has *uno.*

[4] This is doubted. Though stated by several English and French writers, William of Apulia and Romuald of Salerno say nothing about it. See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, vol. xviii. p. 199. The story above as to the double victory is also erroneous.

[5] In the earlier part of S., whenever this name appears in full, the spelling is *Wilelmus;* here the more usual form occurs.

[6] *Thancredus,* S.; *Tancredus,* B.D.; *Tamcredus,* C.

[7] *cui* B.D.; *cum,* C.S.

A.D. 1194. legitima nactus potentiam, jus uxorium in imperium Teutonicum redigere studuit. Contractis igitur[1] imperii viribus, Campaniam Apuliamque invasit: civitates nonnullas cum castellis plurimis per deditionem obtinuit. Cumque inclitam in urbibus Neapolim obsideret, exorta in castris pestilentia numerosissimi exercitus non modicam partem absumpsit: ipse vero cum reliquis ægre evasit. Interim vero uxor ejus, Salerniæ constituta, incidit in manus hostiles. Civibus quippe, ut dicitur, annitentibus superveniens classis Thancredi,[2] profligata manu militari, quæ ibidem reginæ assistebat, ipsam comprehensam[3] in Siciliam traduxit: verum a rege Thancredo honorifice tractata, marito quoque post modicum resignata est. Cumque idem imperator in Germaniam reversus secundam expeditionem in Apuliam pro abolenda priori macula meditaretur, et ex ærario proprio sumptus bellici minus suppeterent, occasione forte reperta ut futuræ expeditionis promoveret negotium, nævo inexpiabili fœdavit imperium. Imperatoriæ quippe honestatis oblitus, et ex imperatore Christiano alter Saladinus effectus, illustrem Anglorum regem, a partibus Orientis, ubi multum pro Christo sudaverat, ad propria simpliciter revertentem, uti supra plenius relatum est, instigante avaritia captivavit: sicque Anglia usque ad sacros calices pecuniis exinanita satis infames bello Apulico expensas paravit. Rege autem tandem relaxato, sed retentis ejus obsidibus, eo quod avaritiæ ignis exæstuans[4] in pectore inverecundo nondum diceret "Sufficit," infinitas ex omni imperio contraxit copias, hostium fines ingressurus. Verum ante irruptionem bellicam, contigit regem Thancredum cum filiis in fata concedere: nec jam aliquis

Death of Tancred (20th Feb. 1194).

[1] C. has *itaque*.

[2] Throughout S. alone has the form *Thancredus*.

[3] C. has *apprehensam*.

[4] *exæstuans*, D.S.; *æstuans*, B.C.

supererat masculus ex semine regio qui vacanti præsumeret regno irrepere, præsertim cum imperiali potentiæ hereditaria conjugis ejus justitia jungeretur. Adveniens ergo cum exercitu imperator, nomine comparis[1] suæ haud[2] difficulter opulentissimas Apuliæ, Calabriæ, Siciliæque[3] regiones obtinuit. Et ceteris quidem, ut dicitur, qui sub Thancredo obstiterant veniam dedit; cives vero Salernitanos percutiens castigatione crudeli, ipsam clarissimam civitatem evertit. Quod et victor olim Wischardus[4] ejusdem urbis fecisse civibus dicitur; hoc ipso eis palmam perfidiæ tribuens, et punitionis exemplo disciplinam in posterum sanciens. Sic igitur regnum nobilissimum, quod virili successione diu immobile steterat, per feminam heredem deficiens concidit, atque in provinciam Teutonici imperatoris transivit, anno a partu Virginis M° C° nonagesimo quarto. A.D. 1194.

Cap. VIII.

De horrenda morte ducis Austriæ.

Anno a partu Virginis M° C° nonagesimo quinto ingresso, illustri Anglorum regi post gravium experimenta malorum favor cœpit arridere Divinus.[5] Cum enim plusquam viginti marcarum millia præparasset duci Austriæ, cum multo periculo mature transmittenda, illi, quos eidem duci pro satisfactione summæ exactæ obsides dederat, repente affuere, habentes mel et lac sub lingua sua; hostem scilicet immanissimum divini pondere judicii obrutum nuntiantes, et pro fide nuntii seipsos cum gaudio ostentantes. A.D. 1195.

Return of the hostages from Austria with news of duke Leopold's death.

[1] *compatris* (sic) in C.
[2] B. has *aut.*
[3] *que*, om. B.
[4] *Wischardus*, S.; *Wiscardus* B.D.C.
[5] *divinus*, B.D.S.; *divinitus*, C.

A.D. 1195.

Warning portents preceding his death.

Referebant autem ejusdem potentis[1] terram ante[2] ejus interitum flagello multiplici ita divinitus fuisse attritam, ut ex his posset agnoscere, sibi quoque non lento jam pede appropinquare judicium nisi maturius faceret fructus dignos pœnitentiæ, homo tantorum reus malorum, quæ proculdubio in regnis Christianis provenisse noscuntur ex infelicissima illa captivitate regis Anglorum. Denique, ut dicitur, civitates terræ illius incertam prorsus causam habentibus incendiis conflagrarunt. Danubius fluvius maximus, tanquam ad ultionem egressus, adjacentia quædam loca cum ingenti hominum exitio occupavit. Æstate media tota illa regio, innaturali atque insolita ariditate deficiens, intempestive viroris sui gratia caruit. Semina frugum terræ mandata, cum deberent erumpere, degenerarunt[3] in vermes. Nobiliores quoque terræ illius tanquam effusa pestis morbus absumpsit. Non terruerunt ista cor nequam et avarum quominus opibus Anglicanis inhiaret adhuc, cum plurima jam marcarum millia a rege captivo sumpsisset. Et quidem a Romano pontifice pro iis,[4] quæ in eundem regem commiserat, anathemate innodatus, avaritia tamen fortius[5] perurgente superbe derisit sententiam. Jam posita erat divinæ animadversionis securis ad radicem malæ arboris. Sed quia scriptum est, "Contritionem præcedit superbia, et Prov. xvi. 18.
"ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus," de insignis captivi quasi manubiis inclitus, convocatis nobilibus terræ, Dominici Natalis sollemnitatem in multa ostentatione et gloria celebrare voluit. Et die quidem primo gloriosus effulsit: in crastino vero gloriam Deo dedit. Cum enim in natali beati Stephani jam pransus exisset, ut in campo cum suis militibus luderet, forte equus ejus decidens sessorem quoque dejecit, pedemque ejus ita comminuit ut ossa hinc inde confracta, rupta cute,

The duke is thrown from his horse and his foot is crushed, Dec. 26 (1194).

[1] *ejusdem potentis*, B.D.S.; *ejus potentes*, C.
[2] B. has *autem*.
[3] D. has *degenerant*.
[4] *his*, B.D.
[5] C. has *fortiter*.

A.D. 1195.

exterius prominerent. Acciti mox medici, tantæ læsionis curandæ sollicitudinem habuere, atque adhibuere quæ expedire credebant. In crastino vero pes ita denigratus apparuit ut a medicis incidendus decerneretur. Quod cum ipse præ vitæ amore fieri postularet, non est inventus vel medicus, vel familiaris, vel filius, qui[1] hoc patraret. Tandem accitus cubicularius ejus, atque ad hoc coactus, dum ipse dux dolabrum manu propria tibiæ apponeret, malleo vibrato, vix trina percussione pedem ejus abscidit. Medici vero, appositis medicaminibus, cum eum in crastino visitarent,[2] signis haud[3] ambiguis mortem esse in januis cognoscentes, vultu et voce dixerunt: "Dispone domui tuæ, quia morieris tu[4] et non vives." Desperatus igitur accitis episcopis, qui ad sollemnitatem invitati venerant, in conspectu optimatum a vinculo anathematis, quo eum Romanus innodaverat pontifex, petiit relaxari. Responsum est ab universo clero, quod nullatenus posset absolvi nisi sub juratoria cautione, quod super injuriis regi Anglorum illatis judicio ecclesiæ staret; optimatibus quoque pariter jurantibus, quod si forte judicium ecclesiasticum per eum minus procederet, ipsi modis omnibus procurarent ne quid ex iis[5] quæ statuerentur in irritum cederet. Hac cautione sollemniter præstita, absolutionis munus promeruit; moxque obsides regis Anglorum liberari præcepit. Verum cum post modicum, ingravescente molestia, exspirasset, succedens filius paternæ quoque avaritiæ heres esse voluit; et ne ultima defuncti patris voluntas impleretur, adjunctis sibi

Isaias xxxviii. 1.

In view of death the duke orders the liberation of the English hostages, and he is then absolved.

[1] Hoveden (iii. 276, 277) has identical expressions here and below. Here he writes, "Quod cum "ipse fieri postularet non est in"ventus qui."

[2] Hoveden's words here are: "medici vero, appositis medica"minibus, cum eum in crastino "visitarent." The returning hostages "in Angliam venientes narra"verunt hæc omnia" (p. 277). As to the probable cause of these coincidences, see the Preface to Vol. i. pp. xxviii.–xxxvi.

[3] B. has *aut*.

[4] *tu*, B.D.S.; om. C.

[5] *his*, B.D.

A.D. 1195.

His son hesitates to carry out the release, but the clergy refuse to bury his father's corpse until he has complied.

quibusdam nobilibus obstitit. Unde factum est per laudabilem atque invictum cleri zelum, ut tanti ducis corpus diebus aliquot inhumatum inobedienti filio maculam irrogaret. Qui tandem consternatus memoratos obsides absolute relaxavit, eisque quatuor marcarum millia regi Anglorum reportanda contradere voluit. At illi propter viarum pericula expediti repatriare maluerunt, et tanto velocius quanto et[1] alacrius revertentes suæ liberationis nuntii primi exstiterunt. Gavisus rex nuntio, gratias egit Deo, et ex eo correctior vixisse perhibetur.

Cap. IX.

Quid Dei ordinatione evenerit in pago Cenomannensi ad correctionem regis Anglorum.

A.D. 1195?

Story told by the bishop of Le Mans as to a man assailed by a devil.

Aliud quoque ipso tempore in pago Cenomannensi accidisse fertur, quod eundem regem non frustra territum suæ propensius salutis admonuit. Res pluribus nota est, quam nostræ simpliciter narrationi inserimus prout nobis viri venerabiles et fide digni tradidere, a Cenomannensi episcopo id ipsum se accepisse protestantes.

Vir quidam ex ejusdem episcopi clientela, piæ devotionis instinctu, profectus Hispanias ad memoriam beati apostoli Jacobi, cum sospitate ad propria remearat. Qui post modicum calore fidei et devotionis fortius ignescens, longe laboriosiori peregrinatione sepulchrum invisere Dominicum voluit. Valedicens ergo suis, iter opportune arripuit; et cum forte solus graderetur, repente in ipsa via obstitit ei quidam enormi corpore et vultu terribili. Pavefactus homo, elevata manu, Christianam sumpsit armaturam. Ille

[1] *et*, B.D.S.; om. C.

A.D. 1195?

vero tanquam non reputans salutare signaculum: "Nequaquam," inquit, "hoc modo tueri te poteris, "quin meus sis; porro si procidens adoraveris me, "faciam te locupletem et inclitum valde." Ad hæc homo, pavorem fiducia superans, cum libertate respondit: "Liquet te esse partis sinistræ, sint "tua tibi; nam mihi sufficit omnipotentis Dei "largitio, quem solum adoro." Et ille: "Oportet," inquit, "te vel invitum aliquid habere de meo." Et "proferens tanquam pallium subtilis materiæ, jactavit super caput hominis, quod mox attactu igneo capillis exustis cutem quoque capitis[1] denigravit. Prosiliensque hostis, hominem periculo anxium per brachium apprehendit. Homo vero cum tanta perurgeret necessitas, sanctum Jacobum ex recentis obsequii conscientia fortiter inclamavit. Qui beatus Apostolus in specie[2] reverenda manifeste mox affuit, et potenti verbo invasorem improbum increpavit. Ut autem homo de manibus inimici furentis ereptus, tuto jam auditu perciperet, quorum, ut creditur, audiendorum gratia per voluntatem Dei articulum illum inciderat: Apostolus ad nequam illum: "Dic," inquit, "quis sis, vel quid negotii habeas." Qui constrictus imperio: "Dæmon," inquit, "sum generi humano in- "festus, et mille nocendi artibus instructus. Ego "enim grande illud scandalum et Christianæ posses- "sionis jacturam in Oriente patravi: ego inter reges "Christianos in Terra Promissionis, ut nil ab eis "ageretur, nec prosperaretur opus Dei in manibus "eorum, detestabilem discordiam seminavi; regem An- "glorum a Syria digressum per ministrum nequitiæ "meæ, ducem scilicet Austriæ, captivavi, multimodam "exinde malorum occasionem regnis Christianis con- "cinnans; eundem quoque regem de captivitate ad "propria revertentem comitatus, in partibus istis nunc "consisto, cubili regio tanquam familiaris minister

The fiend claims to have destroyed the effects of the Third Crusade, and says that he has since beset king Richard.

[1] *capitis*, B.C.S.; om. D.

[2] B. has *spem*.

A.D. 1195? "frequenter assisto, et circa thesauros ejus apud "Chinonem repositos pervigili cautela observo." His dictis, malignus disparuit: Apostolus etiam,[1] confortato homine, in suæ se claritatis secretum recepit. Homo vero ad urbem Cenomannensem mature reversus, episcopo virisque prudentibus cuncta[2] per ordinem replicavit; in argumentum fidei caput depilatum, et brachium manus pestiferæ contactu ustulatum, nudavit. Quibus actis, post dies aliquot propositum iter repetiit. Nec diu ista latuere regem Ricardum. Qui nimirum Ejus qui tangit montes et fumigant timore compunctus, salubrioris instinctu consilii, cubiculum suum, sicut accepimus, de cetero castius esse voluit, et de thesauris suis largiores indigentibus eleemosynas erogavit. Ps. cxliii. 5.

Cap. X.

De morte Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi.[3]

A.D. 1195. Death of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham.

His diebus Hugo Dunelmensis[4] episcopus extrema sorte defecit, anno sacerdotii sui quadragesimo secundo. Et quidem electorum pontificum, quibus dignus non erat mundus, raros legimus tanto tempore officio functos: nostri autem temporis episcopis, quibus mundus non est crucifixus sed infixus, nescientibus cum propheta dicere, "Heu mihi quia incolatus meus pro- Ps. cxix. 5. "longatus est," etiam productius in illa excellentia tempus breve videtur, tantusque hos, cum suas vel divitias vel delicias[5] deserere coguntur, torquet dolor, quantus illis dum affluerent[6] hæsit amor. Dicitur autem episcopus ille, nescio unde deceptus, dum in prosperis ageret, tam annosam sibi prophetasse æta-

His life and character.

[1] *etiam*, B.D.S.; *autem*, C.

[2] *cuncta*, B.C.S.; om. D.

[3] *Dunolmensis*, omitting *episcopi*, B.

[4] *Dunlmensis*, B.

[5] *vel delicias*, B.R.S.; om. C.D.

[6] D. has *affluerant*. Newburgh again quotes from St. Gregory. See p. 38.

tem, ut audientibus plurimis pronuntiaret se,[1] oculis senio caligantibus, annos decem in cæcitate acturum. Quamobrem mundo secure incubans, extremis tandem ex improviso urgentibus, hujus sententiæ vel sero agnovit mendacium. Sane utrum in hoc aliquis eum quasi divinando deluserit, an ipse abundans in sensu suo, ex consideratione bonæ valetudinis suæ, vitam[2] sibi longiorem pollicitus fuerit, incertum est.[3] Quippe usque ad septuagesimum annum quo decessit,[4] morbumque quo absumptus est, fere semper corpore indolorius, sospes, et vegetus vixisse perhibetur. Homo in terrenis disponendis prudentissimus, et sine multis literis eloquentissimus; pecuniarum sitientissimus; earumque scientissimus exquirendarum. Spirituali potentia sive excellentia episcopus non contentus, secularem ambivit; et multa ecclesiasticæ pecuniæ, religiosis potius usibus applicandæ, jactura, quæsivit sibi nomen grande juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra. Castellorum instructioni[5] atque insignium in locis plurimis ædificiorum fabricæ deditus, quo plus studuit ædificare in terra, eo remissius ædificare curavit in cœlo. Hic nimirum ob solam generis nobilitatem ex secularis vitæ illecebris in ætate minus canonica ad episcopatum assumptus, studiose implevit illud Salomonis; "Omnia quæ desideraverunt oculi mei non "negavi eis; nec prohibui cor meum quin omni vo-"luptate frueretur." Cumque opibus plerumque non parceret, sed multo studio congesta, ne quid magnis animi sui conceptibus deperiret, indiscrete effunderet, alias tamen multo[6] plus erat congregans quam dispergens. Leprosis indulgentior, nobile illis xenodochium,[7] non longe a civitate Dunelmensi, profusa qui-

A.D. 1195.

He died in his 70th year.

His secular aims.

[...]alip. I. [...]i. 8.

[...]les. ii.

He founded a leper's hos-

[1] C. omits *se*.

[2] B. has *vita* and omits *sibi longiorem*.

[3] *est*, B.D.S.; *sit*, C.

[4] Hugh was therefore in his 26th year when consecrated.

[5] B. and D. have *exstructioni*.

[6] For *tamen multo*, B. has *cum multa*.

[7] C. has *exenodochium*. The hospital was at Sherborne, near Durham.

A.D. 1195. dem, sed tamen ex parte minus honesta largitione, construxit; alieni quippe juris non modicum huic devotioni per potentiam applicans, dum propria sufficienter impendere gravaretur. Sane cum post plebis Christianæ in Oriente excidium Christiani principes multusque populus characterem Dominicum suscepissent, ipse quoque ejusdem piæ devotionis consors esse voluit. Denique in capite jejunii signum Domini sollemniter sumpsit, et pro castigandis peccatis suis sub veste exteriori mollia cilicio mutavit, quo tamen diu usus non est. Porro ut abjiciendi etiam sacri characteris occasio non deesset, tepide rogatus a principe, publicæ administrationis sollicitudinem, ut suo loco plenius dictum est, minime recusavit, ac deinde ab eodem callide inductus, appensa illi universa pecunia quam in sumptus longissimæ peregrinationis congesserat, comitatum Northumbriæ comparavit. Quo facto, et rege in Orientem profecto, a sacro tandem[1] charactere humerum liberavit, ac geminato honori episcopus senior comesque novitius incubans, potentiam suam et gloriam usque ad ejusdem principis reditum magnifice ostentavit. Cum autem ejus de captivitate Alemannica in regnum regressi faciem minus sibi arridentem notasset, non aliter eum, quam resignato comitatu, quem gravi summa emerat, et spatio brevi possederat, placari posse credidit. Non tamen vel sic placare eum potuit, quem nimirum exactionibus importunis postmodum gravem sensit, credentem scilicet tanti episcopi sacculos non facile posse exhauriri, præsertim cum ille pro redimendo comitatu, quem olim frustra emerat, in multa quantitate pecuniam novam offerret. Proinde regi in partibus transmarinis constituto, et oblatam quidem pecuniam imminentia regia exigenti, non tamen comitatum reddenti, per responsales et munera supplicavit, ut vel mediante ipsa pe-

[Margin: —— pital near Durham.]

[Margin: He had taken the cross at the outset of the recent crusade. When asked by Richard to assist in the administration of the kingdom he used the money saved for the crusade to buy the earldom of Northumberland.]

[Margin: The king on his return forces him to give up the earldom.]

[Margin: The bishop offers money for his restoration to the dignity.]

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[1] C. reads, *in oriente profecto a sacro ordine tandem.*

A.D. 1195.

Richard evades the bargain, but requests the bishop to come to London, bringing the money, and offers to associate him in office with archbishop Hubert.

cunia comitatum redderet vel non reddens ab exactione cessaret. Rex autem callide, ut olim, hominem palpans, literis reverentia plenis mandavit, ut oblatam [1] summam appensurus Lundonias accederet, et tanquam pater patriæ cum archiepiscopo Cantuariensi totius regni moderator de cetero resideret. Qua gratia exhilaratus episcopus in [2] multa lætitia eundi Lundonias iter arripuit; veniensque ad villam propriam, quæ dicitur Creic, dominica qua mos est sacerdotibus caput quadragesimalis jejunii sollemni esu carnium prævenire,[3] ibidem supra virtutem corporis senilis ingurgitavit se epulis, dum miser, cui nil sapit venter, per saporum [4] illecebram de numerositate ferculorum usque ad gravamen proprium suscipere cogeretur. Cumque per vomitum vitio crapulæ mederi voluisset, eo ipso afflictus est magis. Ab illo ergo die sensim deficiens, obstinato tamen animo progressus est itinere dierum aliquot usque [5] Doncastrum; nec ulterius, crescente incommodo, obluctari valens, itinere liquido circa primam dominicam Quadragesimæ delatus Houedennam [6] ibidem [7] decubuit. Et cum ingravescente molestia jam desperaretur, amicis qui aderant suadentibus, testamentum condidit, et pro tempore faciens fructus vel seræ pœnitentiæ, sensu quidem doloris modico, sicut fatebatur,[8] sed defectu paulatim serpente, et tandem prævalente, vitam finivit.[9] Illo autem mortuo, et epi-

He reaches Howden about Feb. 20, and there makes his will.

His death (March 3).

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[1] C. has *ablatam.*

[2] C. for *in* has *et.*

[3] This would be "*Carnivora*" (Shrove Tuesday), the 15th Feb., and Hoveden (iii. 284) says that on Ash Wednesday (16th) he was at York excommunicating the dean's assailants, and that he was taken ill at Doncaster. From Crayke the bishop would naturally pass York in going south, and he was obviously not too ill to be merely present at the excommunication. Thence he slowly went by land to Doncaster, and, getting worse, was taken by water to Howden about Feb. 20, and died March 3.

[4] C. has *saporem.*

[5] *usque,* B.D.S.; *usque ad,* C.

[6] *Houedennam,* C.D.S.; *Hovendennam,* B.

[7] *ibidem,* B.C.D.; *idem,* S.

[8] *sicut fatebatur,* C.R.S.; *sicut ipse fatebatur,* B.D.

[9] Hoveden supplies the exact date of his death (iii. 284).

A.D. 1195. The king seizes on the revenues of the see and on the bishop's property.

scopatu illico per ministros regios in fiscum redacto, iidem omnia secreta ejus perscrutantes, quicquid repertum est regiis applicuere commodis. Sed nec ministri et familiares ejus evasere quæstionem, qui nimirum jussione regia tanquam subtractores bonorum ejus districtæ discussioni addicti, pro viribus quisque substantiæ suæ satisfacere sunt compulsi.

Cap XI.

De tribus spuriis ejusdem episcopi; et quis ei successerit.[1]

A.D. 1195. Hugh de Puiset, before becoming bishop of Durham, was the father of three (two) sons.

Sane memoratus episcopus, dum adhuc Eboracensis esset ecclesiæ thesaurarius, paulo ante episcopatum, diversis ex matribus tres spurios fuderat;[2] nec tamen hoc vel ipsum divini respectu judicii ab episcopatu ambiendo deterruit, vel electionem ejus, quod et canones remissius et homines indiscretius agerent, impedivit. Ait enim beatus Gregorius scribens clero et nobilibus civitatis Neapolis:

S. Greg. Epist. Lib. x. Ep. 62.

"Johannem diaconum, qui ab altera parte electus est, "parvulam habere filiam quorundam relatione cognovimus. "Unde si rationem voluissent attendere, nec alii eum "eligere nec ipse debuerat consentire; nam qua præsump"tione ad episcopatum audet accedere, qui adhuc longam "sui corporis continentiam, filiola teste, convincitur non "habere?"

Si ergo iste propter unam filiolam ad episcopatum non debuit aspirare vel eligi, multo minus ille propter tres filiolos. Episcopatum tamen nactus, susceptam

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[1] *ei successit*, D., and B. omitting *ei*.

[2] Bishop Stubbs, in his Preface to Hoveden (iii. xxxiv., note 4), quotes a charter of Henry de Puiset, one of Hugh's sons, in which he speaks of "Adelidis de Perci matris "meæ." The second *son* mentioned below by Newburgh was Hugh's *nephew* Bouchard, archdeacon of Durham.

A.D. 1195.

quidem ante episcopatum sobolem per illecebram carnalis affectus studuit ad divitias et nomen grande provehere. Porro in episcopatu sobolem minime procreavit. Primogenitus[1] ejus nobiliori matre procreatus, secularem militiam plus amavit. Sequens[2] vero cum archidiaconatu Dunelmensi[3] ecclesias plurimas ad usum magis deliciarum quam utilitatem animarum paterna provisione possedit. Tertius autem, quem pater tenerius diligebat, multa ejus opera et impensa regis Francorum cancellarius, immatura morte paternum verberavit affectum.[4] Medius quoque filiorum a patre superstes sospesque relictus in multa felicitate terrena, a patris decessu mense sexto ejusdem felicitatis vanitatem atque fallaciam patrem sequendo probavit.[5]

Promotions procured for his sons.

Sane anno a morte ejusdem episcopi[6] expleto, et episcopatu per officiales regios multifariam spoliato, accepit eandem sedem nutu regio Philippus,[7] genere Aquitanus. Cum enim esset idem circa principem multo tempore sedulus, laborum particeps, et conscius secretorum, tanquam de se optime meritum præclare remunerari idem rex voluit. Ne autem sumere sibi honorem videretur, sed potius vocari a Deo tanquam Aaron, callide provisum est, atque intentato implacabili regis motu,[8] si quis refragandum duceret, electuris extortum ut præelectum regium eligerent, et veritatem electionis regiæ celebri ecclesiasticæ electionis imagine adumbrarent. Solent enim plurimi qui per potentum

Philip of Poictiers is elected bishop of Durham (Nov. 1195).

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[1] B. has *Talis primogenitus.*

[2] This was his *nephew* Bouchard.

[3] *Donelmensi*, B.D.

[4] Benedict (i. 241) says, respecting privileges granted to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, that they were "ex dono Lodowici regis "Francorum, per manum Hugonis "de Puteaco, cancellarii sui, filii "Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi."

[5] B. reads *probavit morte*, omitting *a morte* from the next line.

[6] *episcopi*, om. C.

[7] He was elected after the see had been vacant less than a year, viz., in November 1195 (Gervase, i. 530), and was consecrated at Rome on 20 April 1197 (Hoveden, iv. 18).

[8] B. has *et implacabili regis motu*

A.D. 1195. operam ad ecclesiasticos honores aspirant, ut manifestæ intrusionis evitent elogium,[1] terroribus elicitæ electionis quasi honestam prætexere speciem. Id vero frustra, cum[2] dicat Apostolus: "Nolite errare. Deus "non irridetur. Quæ enim seminaverit homo hæc et "metet." Galat. vi. 7, 8.

Cap. XII.

Quomodo Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in Eboracensi ecclesia, nomine legati, celebravit[3] *concilium: et de lite quæ vertitur inter Cantuariensem et Eboracensem de primatu.*

A.D. 1195.

Archbishop Hubert's legatine visitation at York.

Defuncto igitur Dunelmensi episcopo, atque Eboracensi[4] archiepiscopo ad placandam regis iram, quæ adversus eum vehementer excanduerat, in transmarinis partibus constituto, Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et[5] vices non tantum regias in regni moderatione,[6] verum etiam Apostolicas in ecclesiastica ordinatione per totam habens Angliam, ostentaturus gloriam utriusque[7] potestatis, Eboracam metropolim adiit; prælatos totius provinciæ uti sollemniter sibi occurrerent atque assisterent, præmissa auctoritate, imperavit; suppresso pro tempore primatis nomine, ipsam ecclesiam metropolitanam nomine legati Apostolicæ sedis pompatice ingressus, potestatem in ea magnam exercuit; et nullo obsistente vel reclamante, eo quod omnes vel terrore ejus perstricti vel metropolitano proprio minus essent devoti, concilium magnifice celebravit.[8] Quibus actis, et seculari quoque pro tempore ibidem jurisdictione expleta, propriæ se provinciæ reddidit.

He holds a council (June 14-15).

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[1] C. has *eloquium, terroribus illicitæ.*

[2] *cum*, B.C.R.S.; *dum*, D.

[3] B. omits the rest of the rubric.

[4] *Eboracensi*, om. C.

[5] *et*, om. C.

[6] *moderatione*, B.D.S.; *moderamine*, C.

[7] D. has *utrisque.*

[8] The decrees of this council are given in full by Hoveden (iii. 294–297).

A.D. 1195.

Statement of the arguments as to the question of priority arising between the archbishops of Canterbury and York.

Hic commemorandum puto qua vel ratione vel occasione duo metropolitani Anglorum per longa jam tempora de prioratu contenderint.[1] Eboracensis quidem perspicua se beati Gregorii auctoritate tuetur. Scribens enim Augustino Anglorum episcopo: Eboracensem, inquit, episcopum[2] "tuæ fraternitatis dis-"positioni[3] volumus subjacere: post obitum vero "tuum, ita episcopis, quos ordinaverit, præsit, ut "Lundoniensis episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjaceat." Et adjecit: "Sit vero inter Lundoniæ et Eboracæ "episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut[4] ipse "prior habeatur qui prius[5] fuerit ordinatus."[6] Cantuariensis vero episcopus, quem beatus Gregorius Lundoniensem vocat, asserit huic auctoritati posteriori tempore abrogatum: quando scilicet Romanus pontifex doctissimum virum Theodorum, ut venerabilis Beda refert, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ordinavit episcopum; quem et[7] præfecit universis Angliæ episcopis tanquam primatem; cujus successores per multa tempora eadem prærogativa insignes fuisse noscuntur: unde constat eam non personæ sed ecclesiæ fuisse concessam. Respondetur a parte Eboracensis,[8] quod beatus sancivit Gregorius manifesti et solidi esse juris, quod nullo quidem tempore abrogatum: sed quodam tempore ratione ipsius temporis in usu non fuit, tanquam soporatum et suo tempore excitandum. Anglis siquidem nuper ad fidem Christi conversis, juxta veracis Bedæ historiam, rudes et indocti ex ipsa gente episcopi præesse cœperant: quibus necessario informandis

Beda, Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 29.

[1] C. has *contenderent.* As to the early stages of this quarrel, see W. of Malmesb. *Gesta Pontif.* (Savile, p. 117).

[2] The passage in Beda begins, "quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis," though the words, "Eboracensem "episcopum" sufficiently summarise the preceding passage.

[3] C. has *depositioni.*

[4] *ut*, B.D.S.; *quod*, C.

[5] *prius*, B.D.S.; *primus*, C.

[6] The quotation is correct, a merely verbal difference excepted.

[7] C. has *quemque et.*

[8] D. has *Eboracensi.*

A.D. 1195. Romanus pontifex pia providentia doctum præfecit[1] Theodorum, non quidem evacuans decretum beatissimi patris Gregorii, sed tantum consulens tempori.[2] Successores vero Theodori aut similiter tempori[3] consulendum duxerunt, aut temporibus melius se habentibus præsumptores fuerunt: cum Angli episcopi Eboracensi ecclesiæ præsidentes simplicitate quadam rustica de propriæ sedis prærogativa minus curarent, et usum quoque pallii a diebus Paulini episcopi per tempora multa negligerent. Ad hæc dicit Cantuariensis: quia et postquam usus pallii Eboracensi ecclesiæ est redditus, plures ejusdem ecclesiæ pontifices Cantuariensis ecclesiæ sive pontificis, tanquam proprii primatis jurisdictioni[4] subjacuisse noscuntur. Respondet[5] Eboracensis: quia sicut ratio necessitatis temporalis juri Eboracensis ecclesiæ, quod non perfunctorium sed solidum et perpetuum esse beatus Gregorius voluit, præjudicium generare non potuit, ita nec simplicitas sive negligentia antistitum ejusdem ecclesiæ. Denique ista de prioratu tam vana contentio Anglorum metropolitanos longo et sumptuoso labore exercuit. Vanissime autem uterque illorum se scribit totius Angliæ primatem, cum neuter habeat significatam hoc nomine potestatem. Inde est, quod memoratus Cantuariensis, ut susciperetur ab ecclesia Eboracensi tanquam Apostolicæ sedis legatus, supprimendum putavit nomen primatis: quod utique non simpliciter est suppressum, sed, cum aliter non posset suscipi, quod non tanquam primas adveniret expressum. Verum nec legationis suæ ratione facile suscipi potuisset, si clerus ejusdem ecclesiæ privilegio ante annos aliquot a sede Apostolica impetrato uti voluisset, quo scilicet a jurisdictione cujuslibet legati in Anglia instituti cum suo

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[1] B. has *fecit*.

[2] *episcopi*, B.

[3] *temporis*, C.

[4] C. has *ejusdem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis pontifices tanquam proprii primatis sive pontificis jurisdictioni*.

[5] B. has *respondit*.

eximebatur pontifice. Quem nimirum, quoniam non frustra velut terribilem formidabat, pro ejus prærogativa tepide æmulandum duxit, et legato potius, quem amicum et patronum optabat, maluit subjici, quam illius non frenandam potentiam experiri. A.D. 1195.

Cap. XIII.

De exercitu Sarracenorum qui ex Affrica Hispanias intravit.

Iisdem diebus, hoc est anno M°.C°. nonagesimo quinto a partu Virginis, Christianis adhuc regibus Francorum et Anglorum execrabilis in alterutrum[1] odii morbo laborantibus, atque ægre sustinentibus expletionem induciarum, quibus eorum vel ad modicum malitia nocendi avida frenabatur, Sarracenorum ex Affrica tremendus exercitus, duce, ut dicitur, quodam suæ superstitionis pseudo-philosopho grandia pollicente, Hispanias intravit, junctusque Sarracenis indigenis, Christianis se finibus perniciosus immersit. Æmulantes quippe Affri Orientalium Sarracenorum ferventem adhuc fortunam, qui sub principe Saladino regnum Ierosolymitanum invaserant, et Christiani nominis titulum ex Arabia funditus, ex Syria vero usque ad contemptibiles reliquias exturbarant,[2] eosque fortitudine et gloria æquare cupientes, vicinas gentes Christianas moliti sunt vel expellere vel delere, totasque spurcissimæ sectæ suæ Hispanias applicare. Augebat autem eorum fiduciam, quod tempus eos juvare videretur, dissidentibus scilicet inter se fere totius Europæ principibus Christianis, atque ita circa nefarios cupiditatum suarum motus explendos intentis, ut tepide aliquis eorum pro fidei Christianæ vel propagatione vel defensione in Hispaniam accingendus

A.D. 1195. Invasion of Spain by the Moors.

[1] B. has *alterutri*.

[2] D. has *exturbarunt*.

A.D. 1195. militiam crederetur. Itaque fretum[1] quod Affricam

Invasion of Spain by the Moors.

Hispaniamque disterminat transmeantes, junctis sibi Hispanorum infidelium copiis cruenta et effreni audacia debacchabantur[2] in finibus Christianis. Nostri vero primo repentina infinitæ multitudinis irruptione attoniti, mox resumptis animis discrimen experiri bellicum statuerunt. Denique a regibus Christianis ejusdem terræ, quæ nimirum adeo spaciosa est ut extra partem sui non modicam, quæ a Sarracenis possidetur, quinque non ignobilibus regnis Christianis sit inclita, varia contra perfidos illos sorte pugnatum est. Et multum quidem utrinque sanguinis fusum est,[3] sed[4] tandem, Deo nostris propitio, hostilis exercitus plurima sui parte mutilatus, ad propria cum dedecore[5] rediit, minus forte de cetero de vana sui ducis philosophia præsumpturus. Sane rumor irruptionis hostilis late discurrens, totamque in brevi percurrens Europam, atrociora nuntiavit, populis Christianis alte[6] gementibus, et principes suos justa querela incusantibus,[7] qui non se zelo igniti divino grassanti[8] perfidiæ opponerent, sed, juxta Apostolum, mordendo et com- Galat.
edendo invicem consumerentur ab[9] invicem, atque ita v. 15.
bellando inter se vires attererent Christianas, quas utique contra hostes nominis Christiani integras oporteret servari; nec recenti terræ Ierosolymitanæ commonerentur exemplo, quæ utique nostris inter se dissidentibus in manus Agarenorum infelicissime noscitur incidisse. Minus enim animavit atque adjuvit contra nos hostem sacræ religionis Saladinum propriarum fiducia vel potentia virium, quam nostrorum, qui Terram Sanctam regere videbantur, callide explorata discordia procerum. At hoc parum est veterum re-

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[1] B. has *frēm.*

[2] B. has *debet abantur* (sic).

[3] D. has *fusus est.*

[4] *sed*, om. C.

[5] C. has *decore.* Hoveden (iii. 302, 305) agrees with this account, but compare Marlès, *Hist. des Arabes en Espagne*, ii. 433–5.

[6] *alte*, B.D.S.; *late*, C.

[7] C. has *accusantibus.*

[8] B. has *crassati*; D. *grassati.*

[9] *ab*, C.D.S.; *ad*, B.

spectu damnorum, quæ profecto ex nostrorum discordiis robur enervantibus Christianum profluxisse noscuntur. Cum enim, florente olim republica Romana, tantus immo et latior esset orbis Christianus quam orbis Romanus, qui nimirum præter Europam clarissimas maximasque Asiæ provincias cum tota fere Affrica intra suos limites cohibebat, intestinis Christianorum malis principum et populorum actum est, ut Agarenis, qui et Sarraceni dicuntur, invalescentibus, et secta[1] nefaria mundum replentibus, Christiana religio extra fines Europæ modicum possideret. Quinetiam Europæ ex Affrica prius infecta idem pestilentissimus error irrepsit, atque usque in hodiernum diem partem Hispaniarum non modicam maculavit. De origine autem hujus spurcissimæ sectæ, et quomodo in tantum invaluerit, ut tot gentes et regna corrumperet, propter eos, qui forte nesciunt, juxta majorum traditionem paucis perstringere libet.

A.D. 1195.

Invasion of Spain by the Moors.

Cap. XIV.

De Macometo[2] pseudo-propheta, et de lege quam per spiritum erroris introduxit, et[3] quomodo eadem lex plurimas gentes infecit.

Post tempora beati papæ Gregorii cum Romanum imperium, quod olim ab oceano Britannico usque ad fines Persidis porrigebatur, tyrannicis motibus bellisque[4] civilibus ita esset attritum, ut propriæ adversus gentes exteras defensioni jam minus sufficeret, paganus Persarum exercitus in Christianos efferatus minimo[5] negotio quasdam orientales Romanæ ditionis et Chris-

A.D. 1195.

The origin and spread of Islamism (from A.D. 611).

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[1] *et secta*, B.D.R.S.; *et cum secta*, C. by interlineation, the word *cum* being marked with the plummet in the margin.

[2] *Macometo*, D.S.; *Macomento*, B.; *Machometo*, C.

[3] *et . . . infecit*, om. B.

[4] C. has *bellicisque*.

[5] C. has *in minimo*.

A.D. 1195. tianæ religionis provincias milite vacuas occupavit. Secuta est e vestigio Ismaelitarum, qui proprie quidem Sarraceni sed verius Agareni dicuntur, pestis edacior, quæ nimirum juxta quod[1] scriptum est, "Re-" Joel i. 4.
"siduum crucæ comedit locusta," Christianas in Oriente reliquias fere usque ad internecionis[2] extremum persecuta est, agens sub principe Macometo[3] pseudopropheta. Sane hic in adolescentia negotiandi gratia plurimas peragrans[4] regiones, crebra cum Christianis et Judæis conversatione, cum esset acer ingenio, utriusque religionis ritus cultusque addidicit:[5] et ut ad explenda, quæ jam animo conceperat, nequissimorum sibi spirituum familiaritas et cooperatio non deesset,[6] magicis quoque artibus imbui curavit. Quibus instructus homo mire callidus et facundus, nationi se propriæ, nam Ismaelita erat, ausurus ingentia reddidit: similisque illi malæ bestiæ de Apocalypsi quæ habebat duo cornua similia agni et loquebatur quasi draco, ut seduceret plurimos innocentiæ et simplicitatis mendaci[7] specie, pestilentium virus adumbrabat verborum. Denique suæ gentis dominam, quippe moris erat eam gentem regi a feminis,[8] ita verbis ad seducendum compositis et nefariæ artis præstigiis dementavit, ut eum tanquam summum Dei prophetam coleret atque ejus nuptias exoptaret. Cujus conjugio nactus ejusdem gentis principatum, multo fortius populos seducebat, dum non tantum moverentur reverentia principis, verum etiam motum divinum se incursuros crederent si summo Ejus prophetæ in aliquo remissius obtemperarent. Quippe in omnibus quæ seductis vel seducendis a se populis præcipiebat, personam tanquam loquentis in se Dei assumens, fallaci verorum imita-

Personal history of Mahomet.

Apocal. xiii. 11.

[1] C. has *quot*.
[2] Imperfect in D., *ternicionis*.
[3] In C. *Machometo*. Other variations below are omitted.
[4] Blundered in D., *peragerens*.
[5] *addidicit*, C.S.; *addicit*, B.; *didicit*, D.
[6] *deesset*, C.S.; *deessent*, B.D.
[7] *mendaci*, B.D.S.; *mendacii*, C.
[8] It is unnecessary to point out Newburgh's errors in the early part of this chapter.

tione prophetarum præmittebat, "Hæc dicit Dominus." A.D. 1195.
Et quia in traditione sacræ legis scriptum esse nove- Personal
Exod. vi. 10. rat, "Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen dicens," ut sci- history of
licet divinum non humanum esse intelligeretur quod Mahomet.
per hominem tradebatur, ipse quoque suis libris inserendum putavit: "Locutus est Dominus ad Macome-"tum prophetam suum[1] dicens," ut scilicet divinæ auctoritatis pondus habere crederetur quod ab eo seductorie fingebatur. Cumque non tantum subditi verum etiam[2] alii plurimi ad eum sponte inclinati, ad ejus in omnibus penderent arbitrium, accensus libidine latius dominandi, sub prætextu propagandæ religionis, tanquam ex præcepto Dei, finitimas gentes bello aggressus est. Et Christianas quidem in Oriente provincias primo invasit: consequenter vero ad Persicæ ditionis terras arma convertit, arte et astu efficiens quod armis minus poterat. Ut autem in omnibus religiosus videretur, subactos populos, patriis[3] ritibus abdicatis, in suam superstitionem quocunque modo traducere studuit, paganis quidem quos subegerat idolatriam inhibens, Christianos vero usque ad sacri Nominis exterminium atterens. Hoc modo in Ægypto et Lybia, Mesopotamia et Syria, regnis clarissimis, aliisque provinciis Orientis, in quibus olim Christianæ religionis cultus excelluit, usque ad reliquias modicas, prævalentibus Agarenis, defecit. Cumque idem pestifer, dimissus a Deo, secundum desideria cordis sui iret prospere in adinventionibus[4] suis, et juxta formam novissimi antichristi dolus in manu ejus dirigeretur, excogitato per seductorem spiritum modo quo[5] seductionis virus diffusius spargeret, et seductos a se populos quibusdam quasi sacramentis concorporans fortius irretiret, novas vivendi leges novosque sacrorum ritus astuta

[1] *suam* (sic), B.
[2] *etiam*, om. C.
[3] D. has *patris*.
[4] C. has *adventionibus* (sic).
[5] *modo quo*, B.D.S.; *quomodo*, C.

A.D. 1195. vanitate composuit, et ut tanquam divinæ sanctiones[1] suo tanquam prophetico ministerio susciperentur artificiosissime procuravit. Camelum namque elegantis formæ in secretis suis a tenero nutritum, et solis ejus manibus assuetum, suspenso ad collum ejus sacrilego codice ante lucem emisit. Qui nimirum insolita libertate gaudens, atque omnium accedentium contactus refugiens, spatiabatur per campos. Fama mox nuntiat apparuisse camelum speciosissimum collo gerentem mysteria. Concurrit populus ad inusitatæ rei spectaculum; ad ipsum quoque nefariæ molitionis artificem res defertur. Egreditur tanquam visurus miraculum. Animal eminus conspecto nutritio, accurrit, et procumbens notissimas manus allambit. Acclamat populus clarere prophetæ meritum; rogat codicem sacris ejus manibus accipi, et quid in eo mysterii contineretur[2] aperiri. Quo aperto: "Ecce," ait, "hæc est lex "scripta non atramento hominis, sed manu angelica, "quam genti nostræ Deus omnipotens perpetuis ser-"vandam temporibus per hoc animal mittit de cœlo. "Hic liber docebit vos quomodo Deum colere, et "quanta ab eo pro servata ejus lege sperare debeatis." Hoc modo sub nomine religionis sacrilega cordis sui commenta promulgans, diem quoque quo hæc facta sunt annis singulis statuit esse sollemnem, qui a Sarracenis, ut accepimus, Festum Cameli dicitur,[3] atque unius mensis jejunio prævenitur. Sane quoniam Christianas pariter et Hebræas traditiones didicerat, ex utrisque nonnulla propriis figmentis inseruit, ne scilicet omnino inusitata prædicanti vel sancienti fides difficilius haberetur. Nempe, ut Judæos mulceret, suillæ carnis esum inhibuit; et propter circumcisum suæ gentis patriarcham Ismaelem, circumcisionis ritum admisit. Nostri quoque baptismatis quadam sacrilega imitatione, crebras in aqua singulorum tinctiones mem-

Personal history of Mahomet.

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[1] C. has *sanctionis.*

[2] *continetur*, C.

[3] The "Day of the Camel" commemorates a victory on Nov. 4, 656.

brorum quasi pro expiatione instituit. Illius Aposto- A.D. 1195.
Rom. xiii. 13. licæ sententiæ, "Non in comessationibus et ebrietati-"bus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis," partem primam amplexus est et docuit: reliquam vero[1] grata lascivis indulgentia relaxavit. Cum enim esset ipse flagrantissimæ libidinis, ne aliter videretur facere quam docere, omnem suis impudicitiam carnalis voluptatis indulsit, impudenter mentiens Deum bonum pro talibus non irasci, atque hac fœda pudendaque licentia animos sibi concilians gentis obscenæ. Gulosos vero atque ebriosos, orbi terrarum graves, abominatus sobrietatem docuit, ciborum delicias sugillavit, vini usum, præterquam paucis certisque diebus sollemnibus, interdixit. Inde est, quod cum Sarraceni in fluxu libidinum de sui, ut dictum est, seductoris indulgentia probentur esse spurcissimi; nostris, proh dolor! in frugalitate superiores esse videntur, nobisque, proh pudor! comessationum et ebrietatum sordes improperant. Denique malleus Christiani nominis Saladinus ante annos aliquot, cum, nostrorum mores explorans, audisset quod pluribus in prandio ferculis uterentur, dixisse fertur, "tales Terra Sancta indignos esse." Unde constat, quod luxus nostrorum conspectus Agarenos, de frugalitate gloriantes, contra nos incitet animetque tanquam dicentes:[2] "Deus dereliquit crapu-"latos istos, persequamur et comprehendamus, quia "non est qui eripiat." De eodem autem Saladino rem memorabilem, quam a viro veraci audivi, paucis perstringam, quo elucescat quam argutus fuerit ad propriæ sectæ commendationem nostræ religionis sugillator. Præsentati sunt ei aliquando duo monachi Cisterciensis ordinis capti a Thurcis prædonibus. Quos ex schemate inusitato intelligens esse de genere philosophantium Christianorum, per interpretem sciscitatus est, quinam essent et cujus conditionis vel professio-

Personal history of Mahomet.

Saladin's observations on the luxury of the crusaders.

[1] C. reads *vero partem grata.* | [2] D. has *dicens.*

A.D. 1195. nis? Responderunt se esse monachos, regulam beati patris Benedicti professos. Ille de institutis ejusdem regulæ plura percunctatus, cum inter cetera de cælibatu eorum audisset, tandem quæsivit an vinum biberent et carnibus vescerentur? Responderunt se omni tempore certum vini[1] modulum habere ad usum, esum vero carnium non nisi ratione necessitatis seu[2] infirmitatis admittere. Tunc jussit eos indulgentiori custodiæ mancipari, et per duas decentis formæ mulierculas, ad eorum ministerium deputatas, solas eis carnes cum potu aquæ ad victum ministrari. Qui carnibus usi et aqua madentes, exemplo beati Job pepigerunt fœdus cum oculis suis, ut ne cogitarent quidem de turpitudine, sed, sobrietate comite, solliciti pudicitiæ suæ custodes orationi vacabant. Quod ubi comperit Saladinus, carnes et aquam piscibus et vino jussit mutari. Et quidem si hoc eo animo fecisset quo a Salomone dictum est: "Date vinum his "qui amaro sunt animo; bibant et obliviscantur egestatis suæ:" benivole utique[3] actum esset. At insidiabatur callidus, ut simplicitatem arte deluderet, et ex hoc religioni calumniam concinnaret. Vinum ergo sumentes, dum, blandientibus[4] mulierculis,[5] tristitiam suam paulo indulgentiori haustu lenirent, illam Apostolicam regulam: "Modico vino utere propter stomachum tuum," minime tenuerunt. Nam quod stomacho sat est, hilaritati minus est. Ubi autem cum hilaritate honestatis irrepsit oblivio, Salomonicæ de vino sententiæ veritas claruit: quippe ingressum est blande, sed "in novissimo momordit ut coluber." Denique inciderunt in feminas id ipsum molientes. Mane, digesto vino et reatu agnito, fleverunt amare, et, lacrimis madidi, producti sunt jubente molitionis artifice.

Anecdote respecting Saladin and two monks.

Prov. xxxi. 6, 7.

1 Tim. v. 23.

Prov. xxiii. 32.

[1] For *omni . . . vini*, B. reads, *in certo tempore vini*.

[2] *seu*, S.; *suæ*, B.D.R.; *sive* (originally *suæ*), C.

[3] *utique*, B.D.S.; *quidem*, C.; om. R.

[4] B. has *blandienti*.

[5] *mulieribus* in C.

Quibus ait: "Cur solito tristiores estis?" "Quia," inquiunt, "peccavimus graviter vino absorpti." Et ille; "Cum carnibus," inquit, "vesceremini et aquam "biberetis, propositum vestrum caute custodistis; porro "absque esu carnium vino madentes, regulæ vestræ "et propositi vestri[1] prævaricatores inventi estis; ex "quo apparet quod ille vestræ philosophiæ auctor Be-"nedictus minus sapiens fuerit, esum scilicet vobis "carnium inhibens, quo animi status nequaquam tur-"batur, et vini vobis usum relaxans, quo etiam inte-"gerrimæ rationis vigor enervatur, quod tam recenti "vestro probatis exemplo. An non ergo prudentior "philosophus noster et legislator, qui nobis animi tur-"batorem vini usum inhibuit, et semper innoxium car-"nium esum indulsit? Sed quid vobis est expiationis "apud vestros cum propositum solvitis?[2]" Et illi, "Pœnitentia," inquiunt, "et satisfactio, pro arbitrio "senioris nostri." "Ergo," inquit, "non potestis apud "nos expiari, redite ad vestros pro ritu vestro expi-"andi.[3]" Dimisitque eos libere ad propria reversuros, homo inveterata peste imbutus, et ad sugillandum quod sapere non valebat argutus: ita quidem cum nostris illis visus est ludere, qui tamen magis studuit sanæ doctrinæ, cujus ignarus erat, illudere, cæca vanitate[4] carpens virum spiritu Dei plenum; de quo ait beatus papa Gregorius, "quod scripserit monachorum "regulam discretione præcipuam, sermone luculentam." Nam revera præcipuæ discretionis fuit, quod ad sacram militiam transeuntibus ciborum delicias, quæ animum molliunt[5] et resolvunt, curavit restringere, et, juxta formam Apostolicam, modicum vini usum, quo et caro infirma refocillatur et animus non gravatur, voluit relaxare.[6] Sane pestifera secta illa, quæ nimirum per

A.D. 1195.

Anecdote respecting Saladin and two monks.

S. Gregor. Dialog. Lib. ii. cap. 36.

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[1] *vestri*, om. C.
[2] *solvitis*, om. B.
[3] *expiandi*, B.C.S.; *expiando*, D.
[4] *nativitate*, B.
[5] *molliunt*, C.S.; *emolliunt*, B.D.
[6] C. has *relaxari*.

A.D. 1195. spiritum erroris et filium illum perditionis, ut dictum est, initium sumpsit, cum plurimas arte et armis auctoris sui provincias infecisset, post mortem tamen ejus, operatione Sathanæ, fortius invaluit, orbisque partem plurimam occupavit. Siquidem pestifer ille in fata vel sero concedens, reliquit discipulos artis et potentiæ successores. A quibus postea debellati potentissimi tunc omnium gentium Persæ, cum tota imperii sui latitudine in Arabum ditionem cesserunt, eorumque superstitionem, religionis se nomine, et pietatis se[1] specie adumbrantem, subacti seductique receperunt. Processu vero temporis Agareni, qui et Sarraceni, propagandæ suæ vel ditionis vel superstitionis causa alias orbis partes hostiliter adeuntes, Constantinopolim obsederunt; qua nimirum cum Græciæ Thraciæque provinciis ægre defensa, in Affricam transierunt, et amplissimas in ea Romanæ ditionis provincias, civilibus bellis exhaustas, haud[2] multo negotio ingressi potius quam aggressi, eas usque in hodiernum diem cum sacræ religionis exterminio possident. Nam a tempore Constantini Magni late in Affrica Christiani cultus jura viguerant, et fortissimi fidei nostræ propugnatores, gloriosus scilicet doctor martyrque Ciprianus, et clarissimum Christianæ vas sapientiæ Augustinus ibidem claruerant.[3] Nec tantis successibus contenta gens perfida, Hispaniam, quam ab Affrica medium non multæ latitudinis fretum disterminat, pervicaci furore invadens, partem ejus non modicam occupavit, quam spurcissimæ sectæ applicitam possidet usque in præsens. Pyrenæos quoque montes, quibus Hispaniæ Galliæque dirimuntur, transgressa, Gallicam feritatem est aggressa, sperans[4] et moliens, procurrente fortuna, totam Europam, sicut et cetera, in suum jus erroremque convertere. At huic tam undoso mari omnipotens

Saracen conquests (from the 7th century).

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[1] *se*, C.S.; om. B.D.
[2] *haud*, D.S.; *aut*, B.C.
[3] C. has *claruerat*.
[4] C. has *spectans*.

Ps. xxxv. 6. Job xxxviii. 11. Deus, "cujus judicia abyssus multa," cum voluit, posuit ostia et vectem,[1] et dixit,[2] "Hucusque venies, "et non procedes amplius, et hic confringes tumentes "fluctus tuos." Grassanti quippe vesaniæ regni Francorum, deficiente Romano imperio, ad hoc ipsum paulo ante præparati, impenetrabilem opposuit obicem, et non processuri[3] amplius in Hispaniam sunt repulsi. Exposito igitur quomodo Agarenorum nefanda[4] lues a partibus Orientis Affricæ atque Hispaniæ primo irrepserit, quorum diebus nostris obscœna progenies, Orientalium exemplo perfidorum, adversus Christianos in Hispania consistentes novo motu incanduit, ad ordinem historiæ redeamus. A.D. 1195. Saracen conquests.

Cap. XV.

De rediviva post expletionem induciarum guerra regum nostrorum.

Igitur expleto[5] induciarum tempore, illustres Francorum et Anglorum reges cum nulla ratione fœdera pacis susciperent, licet utriusque regni majores seminandæ paci plurimum studuissent, mense Julio totis viribus bellum instaurant. Hujus autem tam infelicis pervicaciæ causa hæc fuit, quod rex Francorum nullo vel consilio vel honestatis respectu flectebatur, ut regi Anglorum ea resignaret quæ de jure ejus, cum in Alemannia teneretur, nullo jure gentium usurparat, et eidem Anglorum regi cum tanta finium suorum A.D. 1195. In July war breaks out with France.

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[1] D. has *vestem.*

[2] For *et dixit,* C. reads *indixit.*

[3] *processuri,* C.R.S.; *progressuri,* B.D.

[4] *nefanda,* C.S.; *infanda,* B.D.

[5] According to Hoveden and Rigord the truce was *broken* in July 1195, but it was only concluded for a year from July 23, 1194, and a breach appears from other circumstances to have been provoked. Negotiations had been going on at a date after June 24 (Hoved. iii. 300), by which the emperor Henry VI. tried to induce Richard to attack the French.

A.D. 1195.

The two armies meet at Vaudreuil.

The king of France negotiates, and meanwhile undermines the walls of Vaudreuil.

Richard detecting the fraud prepares for battle.

The French retreat.

Richard's mercenaries capture Issoudun and other castles.

mutilatione pacem facere indecorum videbatur. Pace igitur etiam in reliquum desperata, convenere cum suis copiis in vallem quæ Rullii[1] dicitur; quæ vallis non longe a Rothomago aberat, eratque de jure regis Anglorum, sed cum eundem fortuna Alemannica premeret, cum sua munitione inciderat, sicut et alia plurima, in manus regis Francorum. Cumque ibidem uterque exercitus sub meditatione pugnæ per dies aliquot excubaret in castris, intervallo modico atque amne interlabente discretis, visum est regi Francorum, munitione diruta, quod difficulter defendi posse videretur, recedere, viresque integras ad opportunioris pugnæ tempus servare. Itaque arci et mœnibus suffodiendis die noctuque instabat, adversæ interim partis impetum callide suspendens, tractando dolose de pace. Verum rex Anglorum ex repentina suffossæ arcis ruina dolum intelligens, ingenti animo turmas suas ordinabat ad pugnam. Porro Francorum exercitus non exspectato pugnæ discrimine abiit, compositis tamen ordinibus, ut prudenter cedere non turpiter fugere videretur. Rex vero Anglorum cum suis copiis amne transmisso cedentibus insistendum non duxit; sed pro tempore incruenta[2] fortuna contentus, reformandæ[3] munitionis studium habuit. Sane rex Francorum, ut accepimus, in hoc bello nihil memorabile gessit. Regi vero Anglorum fortunæ hilarioris favor arrisit. Quippe per stipendiariam militiam, quam Rutas vocant, expugnato et capto Ysouduno[4] cum quibusdam aliis munitionibus, fines suos in Bituricensi provincia egregie dilatavit, Normanniæ damna compensans. Comitem quoque Alvernensem, qui pridem ab ipso desciverat, per eosdem stipendiarios captum,

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[1] *Rulii*, in B.

[2] Hoveden (iii. 301) does not represent this advantage as having been gained altogether without fighting.

[3] In B. *reformandum*.

[4] *Ysouduno*, S.; *Isanduno*, B.; *Ysoudono*, C.; *Isouduno*, D. Rigord agrees, adding that a truce soon followed.

cum suis munitionibus[1] in potestatem redegit. Tunc studio bonorum virorum, cum vindemiales feriæ agerentur, et plurimi qui prius in arma flagraverant jam mollius urerentur, bimestres intervenere induciæ,[2] uti hoc spatio deliberaretur de ipsis induciis, vel in solidam pacem, Deo propitio, convertendis vel saltem in annos aliquot protelandis.

A.D. 1195.

Conclusion of a truce about September.

Cap. XVI.

Quomodo[3] *rex Anglorum de nece marchionis purgatus sit*[4] *per literas Senis Montani.*

His diebus ad Europæ principes epistolæ Senis Montani venerunt: sic enim non[5] pro ætate sed quasi pro sapientia et gravitate per successiones se[6] nuncupat[7] princeps cujusdam gentis Orientalis, quam Hansesisios[8] vocant. Cujus principis vel gentis supra plenius notitiam fecimus, cum interitum Conradi marchionis de Monte-Ferrato, qui ab eis interfectus creditur, exponeremus. Erant autem eædem epistolæ scriptæ literis Ebraicis, Græcis, et Latinis, erantque scriptæ non atramento, sed re multum inusitata, sanguine scilicet muricis, sicut ipsæ indicabant. Has nimirum se vidisse atque legisse vir fide dignus mihi protestatus est, cum regi Francorum Parisius constituto sollemniter fuissent oblatæ, quarum continentia hæc erat:

Letter from the sheikh of Alamoot (the "Old Man of the Mountain"), as to the murder of Conrad of Montferrat.

[1] B. has *monitionibus*.

[2] Hoveden mentions no truce, but says that Richard's agreement with the emperor Henry VI. caused peace to be deferred until November 8. A truce may, however, be inferred from the surrender of Alais (iii. 303). The words *vindemiales feriæ* above give September as the date of it. Rigord says it lasted till November.

[3] C. has "*de nece marchionis et* "*quomodo* . . . ."

[4] *purgatus sit*, om. B.

[5] *non enim*, omitting *sic*, C.

[6] *se*, B.D.S.; *sic*, C.

[7] D. has *nuncupati*.

[8] *Hansesisios*, D.S.; *Hanscusios*, B.; *Hansesios*, C.

A.D. 1195. "Vetus[1] de Monte principibus et omni populo Christianæ "religionis salutem. Quoniam audivimus illustri Anglorum "regi Ricardo necem marchionis de Monte-Ferrato a[2] plu-"ribus imputari, tanquam ejus machinatione ob quandam "inter eos exortam simultatem interfectus sit, cum uterque "esset in Orientis partibus constitutus; nostræ honestatis "interest ad purgandam ejusdem regis famam falsi criminis "suspicione denigratam, hujus rei veritatem, quæ hactenus "penes nos latuit, declarare. Nolumus[3] alicujus innocen-"tiam nostri operis occasione laborare, cum nulli immerito "et insonti mali quippiam irrogemus, eos vero qui in nos "deliquerint,[4] Deo auctore, non patimur[5] diu de illatis "simplicitati nostræ injuriis gratulari. Significamus igitur "universitati vestræ, Ipsum testantes per quem salvari spe-"ramus, quod nulla memorati regis machinatione marchio "ille interfectus sit: qui profecto, pro eo quod in nos de-"liquerat, et admonitus emendare neglexerat, nostra volun-"tate et jussione per satellites nostros juste interiit. Con-"suetudinis quippe nostræ est eos, qui nobis vel amicis "nostris in aliquo injuriosi exstiterint,[6] primo ut nobis sa-"tisfaciant[7] commonere; quod si contempserint, per minis-"tros nostros, qui tanta nobis devotione obtemperant, ut se "a Deo gloriose remunerandos esse non dubitent si man-"datum nostrum exsequendo occumbant, severitatem ultio-"nis expetere. Audivimus etiam de prænominato rege vul-"gatum, quod nos tanquam minus integros et constantes "induxerit, ut de nostris aliquos regi Francorum insidiaturos "emitteremus. Quod proculdubio falsum et vanissimæ sus-"picionis[8] commentum est; cum nec ipse, Deo teste, tale "aliquid circa nos attentaverit, nec nos homini immerito "malum moliri respectu honestatis nostræ sineremus. Bene "valete."[9]

Has denique literas cum coram se sollemniter recitatas rex Francorum audisset, dixisse fertur regem

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[1] B. has *verus.*

[2] For *Ferrato a,* D. reads *Ferato et.*

[3] B. has *nolumus enim alicujus.*

[4] B. has *dereliquerint ;* C. reads *delinquunt.*

[5] *patimur,* B.D.S.; *patiemur,* C.

[6] *exstiterint,* B.D.S.: *exstiterunt,* C.

[7] *satisfaciat* in C.

[8] B. has *suspiciens.*

[9] As to the two "*Vetus de Monte*" forgeries see 1st Rep. Rec. Commn. p. 131. From Philip's words which follow it seems probable that *this* letter was forged to further his wishes as to Johanna.

Anglorum de tam infami nota præclare purgatum; seque cum illo haud difficulter de cetero posse fœderari, cum in eum nulla alia causa fortius quam concepta suspicione de nece amicissimi marchionis exarserit. Hæc dicens causam subticuit, qua[1] nimirum propensius eo tempore ad ineundum cum rege Anglorum fœdus movebatur. Quippe, ut dicitur, ad germanæ ejus, quæ[2] Siculi regis compar exstiterat, nuptias aspirabat, quibus tamen potitus non est; plures enim feminæ nobiles, recens Dacæ puellæ, cui post unam initi fœderis noctem turpiter abjectæ cum multo scandalo libellum repudii dederat, exemplum verentes, ejus aspernabantur conjugium. Denique præter filiam comitis palatini, de qua superius memoratum est, etiam alterius nobilissimæ virginis de imperio Teutonico exoptatis exspectatisque fraudatus est nuptiis hoc modo. Cum eam alius vir potens expetisset, parentibus regiam magis petitionem admittentibus, ad Franciam pompatice ducebatur, transiensque per fines proci prioris, ejus se manibus sponte injecit; a quo volens retenta et sollemniter ducta, regia vota delusit. Præterea rex Dacorum, repudiatæ sororis dedecus ægre ferens, divortium non rite celebratum, sed concinnatum mendaciter in gratiam regis Francorum, per responsales idoneos in audientia sedis Apostolicæ allegavit, et digesta præcedentium temporum serie, astruens[3] reges Francorum et Dacorum nulla se consanguinitate vel affinitate contingere, de concinnato in fraudem divinæ sanctionis divortio judicium fieri pertinaci instantia postulavit. Verum id frustra:[4] cum regis Francorum vel metus vel gratia[5] plus valeret. Denique postmodum idem rex absque omni vel divini timoris vel ecclesi-

A.D. 1195.

Philip seeks to marry Richard's sister Johanna, widow of the king of Sicily, but is rejected.

He tries to marry another noble lady from Germany, but when actually on her way to France she weds a former lover.

The king of Denmark urges the pope to take up Ingeburga's cause.

Philip ultimately marries again.

[1] D. has *quam*.

[2] C. has *qui*.

[3] *astruens*, B.D.; *se astruens*, C.S.

[4] The author evidently did not live to hear of the later proceedings ending in the interdict and Ingeburga's restoration.

[5] *vel gratia*, B.D.S.; *regis gratia*, C.

A.D. 1195. astici vigoris obstaculo, cujusdam ducis Teutonici filiam duxit uxorem:[1] si tamen uxorem, cum pellex potius fuisse videatur, et superducta magis quam ducta.

Cap. XVII.

De bellico post inducias motu regum, et quomodo apud Isoudunum[2] fœdus inierunt.

A.D. 1195.

War between the kings of England and France is renewed, about Dec. 3.

Finitis igitur induciis cum corda regum ad concordiam facile emolliri posse crederetur, causis rursum ingravescentibus, eorum, instigante diabolo, redivivus furor excanduit, elanguitque omnis spes pacis. Erat autem hiems, et Dominici Natalis sollemnis[3] exspectatio, quæ Adventus Domini dicitur, erat in januis. At neque rigor neque religio temporis quicquam adversum malitiam nocendi avidam valuit, rapinis, cædibus, incendiis populus atterebatur Christianus, poteratque apud Dominum dominorum de suis principibus justissime conqueri et dicere, "Quem tu percussisti Ps. lxix.
"persecuti sunt, et super dolorem vulnerum meorum[4] 17.
"addiderunt." Eo namque tempore sub disciplina Domini desudabat, et "nondum aversus[5] erat furor Isaias v.
"Domini, sed adhuc manus ejus extenta." Denique 25.

A serious famine had now for three years afflicted almost the whole of Europe.

famis validæ, quæ totam fere premebat Europam, annus jam tertius[6] duobus præcedentibus gravior agebatur.[7] Cum ergo hinc inde hostilis immanitas debacchari cœpisset, rex Francorum, explorato quod rex Anglorum alias esset intentus, Isoudunum oppidum obsedit, sperans se eo expugnato potiturum, antequam hostis remotior posset occurrere: sed spe sua frustratus

Philip attacks Issoudun (in Nov.).

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[1] Rigord says in June 1196 (Bouquet xvii. p. 46, A.).

[2] *Isoudunum*, B.D.S.; *Ysoudunum*, C. here and below.

[3] In C. *sollemnis* is placed by error before *in januis*.

[4] C. has *eorum*.

[5] C. has *adversus*.

[6] D. reads *ternus*.

[7] See as to this famine, pp. 463, 484, and 492. Also Hoved. iii. 290, and Rigord, p. 42. A.

est, invenit enim oppidum cibis armisque sufficienter munitum.[1] Cumque muris imminens, ut defensoribus terrorem incuteret, se non inde nisi expugnato oppido discessurum petulanti vanitate juraret, viri virtutis stantes super murum, clara fiducia, ut dicitur, non sunt cunctati[2] jurare in contrarium. Fit per dies aliquot oppugnatio vehemens, sed oppugnantibus damnosa magis. Interea rex Anglorum, accepto nuntio, impiger advolat, jussas sequi copias cum expeditioribus antecedens. Oppidum securus ingreditur, obsessore nec saltem attentante illi prohibere ingressum, sed potius adornante[3] discessum. Mox turmas ad pugnam[4] dispositas ingenti animo educit[5] in campum. Francis[6] vero, quod se viribus impares cernerent, animi elanguere. Poterat sane dies illa longi certaminis declarare victorem, nisi Francorum sibi prudentia cautius prospexisset. Cum enim ad dimicandum minus sufficerent, et fugam ingenue detrectarent, hostem quoque ferocem, si forte vel cum fugæ dedecore tentarent evadere, in propriis finibus a tergo urgentem vix possent effugere, dominum suum salubriori consilio impulere ut vel in arcto[7] positus certo belli discrimine declinato[8] honestam dignaretur pacem amplecti; qui nimirum in sui exercitus, qui facies conversas tanquam recedens habebat, extremo agmine erat, quod fortius cautiusque instructum erat contra faciem insequentis. Porro rex Anglorum in fronte sui exercitus gradiebatur. Cujus colloquium cum rex Francorum per viros nobiles expetisset, sicut erant armati in equis occurrerunt sibi mutuo inter duos exercitus modico intervallo distantes, et colloquii exitum stando præ-

A.D. 1195.

Richard enters the town.

The two armies are drawn up for battle.

The two kings meet and confer in the space between their armies.

[1] B. omits the whole passage, *invenit . . . munitum.*

[2] *cunctati*, C.D.S. : *invitati*, B.

[3] *adornante*, D.S. ; *adorante*, B. ; *adornaie*, C.

[4] R. has *pugnandum.*

[5] C. has *deducit.*

[6] C. has *Franci* by alteration.

[7] B. has *acto.*

[8] B. has *declinatam*, D. *declinata*

A.D. 1195. stolantes. Itaque soli absque arbitris[1] diuscule collocuti, in conspectu utriusque exercitus capitibus exarmatis sese in mutuos dedere amplexus. Concordiam principum ingens incruentorum[2] exercituum lætitia sequitur; pacis dulce nomen sonoris vocibus inculcatur. Facta sunt hæc, Deo propitio, nonis[3] Decembris: et populi cum gaudio rediere in sua, intentionem bellicam ad pacis studia et Dominici Natalis in proximo celebranda sollemnia[4] convertentes. Principes vero formam pacis, quam inter se secreto statuerant,[5] apud se continebant,[6] suo tempore declarandam. Quippe non poterant, prout decebat, ad tantæ rei confirmationem,[7] nisi jam expletis Natalis Dominici gaudiis, iterum sollemniter convenire.

A truce is verbally arranged, Dec. 5.

Cap. XVIII.

Quomodo principes fœdus initum declararunt, quod diu non stetit, et de motu Britannico.

A.D. 1196. Anno a partu Virginis M°C° nonagesimo sexto, jam ingresso mense Januario, iidem principes cum magna nobilium frequentia in terrarum confiniis ad sollemne colloquium convenere; ubi declaratum est et consensu publico confirmatum quod inter se sub clypeo egerant. Rex enim Francorum resignavit regi Anglorum Archas, Augum, Albemarlam,[8] Castellum Novum, et cetera quæ de jure ejus tempore Alemannicæ detentionis usurparat, excepto Gisortio cum quibusdam aliis castellis, pro quibus, rege Anglorum connivente, retentis

Richard and Philip meet and settle a treaty of peace, Jan. Arques, Eu, Aumâle, and Châteauneuf, with other places

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[1] B. has *arbitriis.*

[2] B. has *cruentorum.*

[3] *nonas*, MSS.: Hoveden (iii. 305) says on Dec. 9 till 13 Jan. 1196. There are other slight differences in the two accounts.

[4] D. omits *sollemnia.*

[5] *statuerant*, B.D.S.; *constituerant*, C.

[6] C. omits *se continebant.*

[7] C. reads *rei in confirmationem.*

[8] Both B. and D. have *Aldemarlam.*

rex Francorum sponte remisit regi Anglorum quicquid de jure ejus sorte[1] bellica occuparat, scilicet burgum Turonense, beati Martini corpore insigne, Isoudunum[2] oppidum, aliasque sive in Bituricensi[3] sive in Alvernensi provincia munitiones plurimas. Statuta quoque pœna prævaricatoris pactorum,[4] caute provisum est ne quod in posterum inter principes scandalum oriretur.[5] At omnis cautela minor fuit ad pacis propositum solidandum, uti post modicum claruit. Denique rex Francorum, pœnitentia ductus, et succensens[6] suis qui pacis ei consilium dederant, ad rescindendam quam tenendam pacem proclivior fuit. Rex quoque Anglorum pro suorum finium vel modica mutilatione nulla compensatione contentus, irritandi regem Francorum ut pacem infringeret, ex ipsa, ut dicitur, præscriptæ pacis formula occasionem artemque invenit. Rursus ergo bellicæ intentionis inter principes rabies exarsit, cujus tamen motibus vel Quadragesimalis et Paschalis religio temporis, vel solito major et diuturnior inclementia aeris, vel fames per provincias supra modum desæviens obstitit, ut iidem principes amicis suadentibus refractum pro tempore furorem suspenderent, et tempus quo solent reges ad bella procedere, mediantibus induciis, exspectarent. Acuebat autem regem Francorum ad experiendam iterum belli fortunam tumultuantium eo tempore contra regem Anglorum turbatio Britonum, qui puerulum sibi Arturum sub magno hujus nominis omine nutriebant.[7] Cum enim idem rex ejusdem nepotis sui tunc decennis usque ad annos legitimos tutelam exposceret, quo sibi Britanniam adversus casus externos arctius obligaret, primi Britonum

A.D. 1196.

Captured by the French in the provinces of Bourges and Auvergne, are resigned, but Gisors and some other castles are left in Philip's possession.

Unreality of the peace.

Disturbances in Brittany, caused by Richard's demands as to the guardianship of Arthur, render the French more prone to war.

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[1] D. has *forte*.

[2] *Isoudunum*, S.; *Isandonum*, B.; *Ysoudunum*, C.; *Isondonum*, D.

[3] D. has *Bituricemsi*.

[4] D. has *pastorum*.

[5] B. has *orietur*. As to this treaty see Diceto (Twysden, 686, 687). Rigord gives the date as Jan. 15 (Bouquet, xvii. 43, A.).

[6] B. has *successoribus*.

[7] C has *nutriebat*.

A.D. 1196. quadam magis suspicione quam cautela id ipsum non ferentes, et pro ipso puero fortiter æmulantes, cum eo a facie patrui imminentis ad interiora Britanniæ[1] secesserunt. Verum hujus Britannici tumultus progressus et exitus suo loco plenius exponetur.[2]

Cap. XIX.

De improvisa morte abbatis Cadomensis in Anglia.

A.D. 1196.

The abbot of Caen is sent to make reforms in the English exchequer.

Ipso tempore rex Ricardus de partibus transmarinis misit in Angliam abbatem Cadomensem,[3] indulta ei potestate in iis quæ fisco competerent subtilius atque districtius exquirendis. Erat autem idem abbas mediocriter quidem literatus, sed in temporalibus egregie prudens atque eloquens. Prudens, inquam, juxta illud, "Filii hujus seculi prudentiores sunt filiis lucis in "generatione sua." Quippe ex claustrali disciplina assumptus ad monasterii regimen, cum juxta Apostolum, "Nemo militans Deo implicet se negotiis seculari- "bus," actionem muneris secularis subterfugiendo lucis esse filius debuit: quam utique ambiendo et amplectendo, filium se[4] hujus seculi declaravit, dum vel minus attenderet, vel nollet intelligere, ut bene ageret, quantum peccatrix illa actio a professione monachi et abbatis officio discreparet. Denique frequentibus obsequiis nactus amicitiam principis, sub prætextu fidei et devotionis, ut dicitur, suggerendum ei putavit, fraude officialium regiorum ærario ejus plurimum deperire:

Luc. xvi. 8.

2 Tim. ii. 4.

The abbot had persuaded Richard that his

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[1] D. has *Britannicæ*.

[2] See cap. xxx.

[3] Robert 11th abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen, and an officer of the Norman Exchequer. See *Rolls of Norm. Exch.*, i. cli., cliv. Hoveden, iv. 5, leaves a blank for his name, but says that Philip of Poictiers, elect of Durham, came as his colleague.

[4] *se hujus*, B.D.S.; *se esse hujus*, C.

qua nimirum deprehensa et castigata, absque omni provincialium gravamine duplicia posse fisco accedere. Quibus verbis princeps aurem libenter accommodans, rogavit eum hanc operam sumere, et potestate prædictum in Angliam transfretare. Ille regiam vel petitionem vel jussionem devote amplexus, monasterii cura postposita, venit Lundonias, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, qui regni curam gerebat, et regiam voluntatem et suam in executione[1] voluntatis regiæ potestatem intimavit. Quæ nimirum licet idem Cantuariensis minus approbaret, refragandum tamen non duxit quo minus ille exsequeretur injunctum. Mandato igitur regio per universam Angliam discurrente uti provinciarum præsides ad diem certum Lundonias occurrerent, de administrationibus suis rationem coram memorato abbate reddituri, ipse interim gloriosus et potestatem ostentans Quadragesimali tempore sedit Lundoniis, Paschalia gaudia non visurus, nec cum eis quos evocaverat rationem post Pascha positurus, sed ante Pascha rationem superno Judici de propriis actibus redditurus, quanto paratior ad rationem cum aliis ponendam tanto imparatior[2] ad rationem pro se reddendam. Paucis quippe diebus elapsis postquam Angliam introiit,[3] de mundo exiit.[4] Porro illi qui introitum ejus expaverunt, exitum ejus non fleverunt.

A.D. 1196.

revenues were reduced to a half of the proper sum by peculation.

The sheriffs are summoned to appear in London on a fixed day.

The abbot dies before Easter.

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[1] B. has *executionem*.

[2] B. omits the passage *ad rationem . . . imparatior*.

[3] *introiit*, B.D.S.; *intravit*, C.

[4] Hoveden, iv. 5, says he was taken ill when at table with the archbishop of Canterbury, and died a few days afterwards, on April 11.

Cap. XX.

De conjuratione Lundoniis facta per quendam Guillelmum,[1] *et quomodo idem pœnas audaciæ luit.*

A.D. 1196.

The sedition of William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed Longbeard, who was executed within a few days of the death of the abbot of Caen, and before Easter (21 April).

Sane Lundoniis inter memorati abbatis exitum, et cujusdam, qui nuper emerserat, grandia molientis exitium, pauci admodum fluxere dies. Neuter enim fatis urgentibus Paschalia gaudia vidit, dum sors extrema modico intervallo divideret, qui similitudine vel causæ vel propositi consonare videbantur. Abbas, enim, ut commoda regia cum quiete provincialium quæreret, fraudem atque effrenem avaritiam officialium regiorum castigandam esse censebat.[2] Iste[3] vero, cum civis esset Lundoniensis,[4] sub obtentu quasi fidelitatis regiæ, causam se agere pauperum civium contra insolentiam divitum astruebat; fortiter allegans, nam facundissimus erat, quod ad omne edictum regium divites, propriis fortunis parcentes, pauperibus per potentiam omne onus imponerent, et ærarium[5] principis multa summa fraudarent. Hic nimirum Lundoniis oriundus Guillelmus dicebatur, agnomen habens a barba prolixa, quam ideo nutriebat ut hoc, quasi insigni,[6] in cœtu et concione[7] magis conspicuus appareret. Qui cum esset ingenio acer, mediocriter literatus, eloquens supra modum, innata quadam animi et morum petulantia nomen sibi grande facere volens, moliri nova et audere[8] ingentia cœpit. Denique inhumana et impudens actio ejus in proprium germanum, signum est vesaniæ nequitiæque ejus in ceteris. Erat enim ei frater senior,

Longbeard stood forth as the champion of the poor against unequal taxation.

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[1] *Guillelmum cum barba*, D.; B. omits the remainder of the rubric.

[2] *censebat*, B.D.S.; *censuit*, C.

[3] *Iste*, B.D.S.; *ille*, C.

[4] C. reads *Lundoniæ*.

[5] *crantium* (sic), B.

[6] *insigni*, B.D.S.; C. regards the word as an adjective, and reads *insignis*.

[7] *concione*, C.S.; *cognitione*, B.; *concionem*, D.

[8] B. has *audire*.

civis[1] Lundoniensis: a quo, dum scholis vacaret, consueverat ad usus necessarios petere atque percipere solatia sumptuum. Cumque jam grandior atque in expensis profusior[2] ea sibi quereretur remissius ministrari, quod precibus minus poterat, comminationum terroribus tentavit elicere. Ubi hoc frustra tentatum, eo quod frater circa domus suæ curam occupatus illi satisfacere[3] minus sufficeret,[4] tanquam in ultionem suam sæviens, exarsit in scelus. Post tanta quippe fratris beneficia fraterni sanguinis sitiens, proditionis regiæ crimen illi opposuit. Aditoque principe,[5] cui se pridem vel arte vel obsequio commendarat, quod frater suus in animam ejus conjurasset coram eo proposuit, tanquam suam in hac re circa principem devotionem declarans, qui nec fratri pro fide ejus parceret. At[6] hoc derisum est a principe, inhumanissimi hominis malitiam forsitan exhorrente, et tanta naturæ injuria[7] jura pollui non sinente.[8] Hic nimirum, favore quorundam nactus in urbe locum aliquem inter magistratus, cœpit paulatim concipere dolorem et parere iniquitatem. Quippe duobus magnis vitiis stimulantibus, superbia scilicet atque[9] invidia, quarum prima est appetitus excellentiæ propriæ, secunda vero odium felicitatis alienæ, quorundam civium sive optimatum, qui-

A.D. 1196.

His denunciation of his brother for treasonable language.

He obtains a position in the magistracy of London.

Isaias, lix. 4.

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[1] *civis*, C.D.R.S.; *ejus* in L., an erroneous reading which Hearne adopts.

[2] B. has *superior*.

[3] *satisfaceret* in D.

[4] D. omits *minus sufficeret*.

[5] He had been a crusader, and was one of those who claimed to have seen a vision of S. Thomas at sea (Ben. Petr. ii. 116). Probably he thus came under Richard's eye.

[6] B. has *ad*.

[7] D. has *in curia*.

[8] It is not *impossible* that he went to the king (he certainly crossed over to see him once afterwards), and was by him referred to the law courts. The *Rotuli Curiæ Regis* for 6 Ric. I. "in crastino Sci. Edmundi" (i. p. 69), show that on Nov. 21, 1194, he pursued his brother Richard FitzOsbert for treasonable language. A "further day" was given him, on Dec. 21, for an appearance on the octaves of St. Hilary. The result, however, is not recorded. See also Diceto, ii. 143.

[9] B. omits *atque*.

A.D. 1196.

bus se imparem esse cernebat, fortunas gloriamque non ferens, dum aspiraret ad grandia, sub prætextu justitiæ et pietatis in ausus impios conspiravit. Denique clandestina opera et venenatis susurriis apud plebem insolentiam divitum et potentum, per quam ipsi indigne tractarentur, sugillans, inopesque et mediocres ad immoderatæ libertatis et felicitatis amorem inflammans, adeo sollicitavit plurimos, et quibusdam quasi præstigiis[1] fascinatos ita sibi devinxit, ut ad ejus in omnibus nutum penderent, ipsi, tanquam omnium provisori, quæcunque juberet, incunctanter in omnibus obtemperare parati. Facta est[2] igitur Lundoniis, tanquam zelo pauperum contra insolentias potentum, conjuratio valida. Fuisse autem fertur conjuratorum civium numerus, ascriptis,[3] ut postea claruit, penes ipsum nefariæ molitionis artificem nominibus singulorum, quinquaginta duo millia. Ferramentorum quoque ingens copia, ad effringendas[4] domos munitiores præparata, penes eundem rejacebat, quæ postea reperta malignissimæ machinationis argumentum fuit. Tanto itaque fretus consciorum numero, tanquam zelando pro plebe pauperum, et nihilominus sub prætextu regii commodi, cœpit in omni cœtu nobilibus in faciem resistere, quod eorum fraude fisco plurimum deperiret potenti eloquio allegare. Cumque propter[5] hoc contra eum indignarentur et fremerent, deploraturus apud principem, quod pro ejus fide potentum inimicitias atque calumnias pateretur, transfretandum putavit.[6] Reversusque ad suos, calliditate solita cœpit de cetero,

He raises a conspiracy against the richer citizens, enrolling 52,000 of the lower class as his supporters. He collects instruments for breaking into houses.

Longbeard crosses the sea to appeal to Richard against the enmity of the authorities.

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[1] B. has *ostentigiis* (sic).

[2] *est*, B.C.D.; om. S.

[3] C. has *ascriptus*.

[4] C. reads *infringendas*.

[5] *cumque propter*, C.S.; *cumque illi propter*, B.D.

[6] Hoveden, iv. 5, 6, says, "et "abiit ad regem trans mare, et "impetravit ab eo pacem sibi et "populo. Unde Hubertus . . . "regis justitiarius . . . in iram com-"motus, præcepit, ut . . . capere-"tur." His journey is also represented by Newburgh as having been immediately followed by Hubert Walter's action.

tanquam regio favore subnixus, fiducialius agere, et proprios complices fortius animare. Cumque jam initæ conspirationis suspicio rumorque crebrescerent,[1] dominus Cantuariensis, cui principaliter regnum erat commissum,[2] non ulterius dissimulandum ratus, convocatam[3] plebem blande alloquitur, natos rumores replicat, ad omnem sinistram suspicionem tollendam obsides pro fide domino regi et pace[4] servanda dari monet. Blandiloquio ejus populus placatus obtemperat, obsides dantur. Nihilominus homo ille cœptis insistens, vallatus turbis pompatice procedebat, conventus publicos auctoritate propria faciebat, regem se vel[5] salvatorem pauperum arroganter vocitans, et frenandam a se in brevi perfidorum insolentiam granditer intonans. Sane ex eo quod viri veracis[6] narratione didici, dicentis se ante dies aliquot concioni ejus interfuisse et concionantem[7] audisse, fastus sermonum ejus elucet. Sumpto enim vel themate vel testimonio de scripturis sacris, ita exorsus est: "Haurietis aquas in gaudio de "fontibus Salvatoris." Quod ad[8] se derivans: "Salvator," inquit, "pauperum ego sum. Vos pauperes "duras divitum manus experti, haurite de fontibus "meis aquas doctrinæ salutaris,[9] et hoc cum gaudio: "quia venit tempus visitationis vestræ.[10] Ego enim "dividam aquas ab aquis. Aquæ populi sunt. Dividam populum humilem et fidelem a populo superbo "et perfido: dividam electos a reprobis, ut lucem a "tenebris." Itaque cum datum illi esset os loquens ingentia, habensque cornua similia agni loqueretur ut draco, memoratus regni moderator de consilio procerum evocavit eum satisfacturum de objectis. Qui oppor-

A.D. 1196.

Archbishop Hubert takes hostages of the people, and thus secures the public peace.

A portion of one of Longbeard's addresses given on the authority of a person present on the occasion.

Isaias xii. 3.

When summoned he appears guarded by a mob.

Apocal. xiii. 11.

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[1] C. reads *crebresceret.*
[2] C. has *remissum.*
[3] B. has *convocandam.*
[4] B. has *paci.*
[5] *vel,* om. B.
[6] B. has *veraces.*
[7] B. has *concinnantem.*
[8] *ad,* B.L.; om. C.D.S.
[9] *salvatoris,* in C.
[10] B. has *nostræ.*

A.D. 1196.

Two citizens are sent with an armed band to capture him when not thus guarded. He kills one of the citizens, and then with a few associates takes refuge in Bow Church.

tunc affuit turbis ita vallatus, ut evocator ejus territus mollius ageret, et pro declinando periculo caute judicium protelaret. Explorato igitur per duos cives nobiles tempore quo inveniri posset sine turbis, præsertim jam cum populus propter periculum obsidum[1] quietius ageret, cum eisdem civibus ad capiendum eum armatam manum emisit. Quorum unum[2] propius insistentem ipse arrepta bipenni mactavit; alterum vero quidam ex assistentibus ei[3] trucidavit. Illico cum paucis suorum et[4] concubina inseparabiliter adhærente in vicinam ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ, quæ dicitur de Archis, confugit, eaque ad tempus non tanquam asylo sed tanquam castello tueri se voluit,[5] frustra sperans populum mature affuturum; qui nimirum etsi de ipsius periculo doluit, tamen vel respectu obsidum[6] vel metu loricatæ multitudinis ad ereptionem ejus non accurrit. Audito enim quod ecclesiam occupasset, militares eo copias[7] ex vicinis paulo ante provinciis accersitas[8] regni administrator direxit. Jussus ergo egredi et judicio sisti, ne locum orationis speluncam latronum facere videretur, conjuratorum accursum frustra exspectare maluit, donec oppugnata[9] ecclesia igne et fumo cum suis egredi cogeretur.[10] Egredienti autem filius civis quem peremerat prior occurrens, in ultionem paterni sanguinis cultro illi ventrem dissecuit. Captus itaque et juri exhibitus, judicio Curiæ Regiæ prius equis distractus ac deinde patibulo appensus est

The church is set on fire and Longbeard coming forth is stabbed by the son of the citizen he had killed. By sentence of

[1] C. has *obsidium*.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 6, gives the name, Geoffrey.

[3] *ei*, om. C.

[4] *et*, om. B.

[5] *voluit*, B.D.S.; *cœpit*, C.

[6] C. and D. have *obsidium*.

[7] B. has *militans copias*.

[8] B. has *accersitis*.

[9] B. has *oppugnatum*.

[10] Hoveden agrees with Newburgh here. Diceto (ii. 143) has the improbable story that Longbeard himself was the incendiary. The fact that an archbishop ordered a church to be set on fire caused a great stir (Hoved. v. 6), and the dean's courtier-like spirit refuses to charge the prelate with the deed.

cum sociis novem[1] qui illi deesse noluerant. Sic juxta quod scriptum est: "Qui fodit foveam, incidet in eam; "et qui dissipat sepem, mordebit eum coluber," tantorum incentor artifexque malorum dictante justitia periit, et nefariæ conspirationis cum suo auctore rabies exspiravit. Et illi quidem, quibus sanior cautiorque mens fuit, lætati sunt cum viderent vel audirent vindictam, lavantes manus suas in sanguine peccatoris. Porro conjurati et novarum aucupes rerum[2] exstinctum planxere[3] vehementer, disciplinæ publicæ circa eum vigori derogantes, et regni provisorem tanquam homicidam pro supplicio pestilentis et homicidæ lacerantes.[4]

Eccles. x. 8.

A.D. 1196. — the *Curia Regis* Longbeard and nine of his associates are executed (April 6).

Cap. XXI.

Quomodo vulgus voluerit[5] hominem illum tanquam martyrem honorare, et quomodo error iste[6] exstinctus sit.[7]

Quantum autem homo ille audendo et moliendo ingentia animos sibi conciliaverit improborum,[8] et quantum etiam sibi plebem devinxerit[9] tanquam pius et providus pro ea æmulator, etiam post interitum ejus claruit. Quippe ut ab eo puniti per leges dedecus conjuratoris abstergerent, et damnatores ejus impios comprobarent,[10] arte illi martyris nomen et gloriam

A.D. 1196. — The real extent of Longbeard's following appears after his death.

[1] Hoveden says eight, but the Ann. Winton-Waverley (Liebermann, p. 183) say nine. Gervase (i. 533) contributes the date, April 6. Matthew Paris, too, shows much sympathy with Longbeard.

[2] This phrase has some interest. See Vol. i. p. 172, note 2.

[3] B. has *plangere.*

[4] Hoveden (iv. 5) and even Diceto (ii. 143) testify to the unequal taxation of rich and poor at this date.

[5] C. has *voluit.*

[6] *iste*, B.D.S.; *ille*, C.

[7] *exstinctus sit*, om. B.

[8] C. has *conciliaverat reproborum.*

[9] In D. this passage reads, *ingentia, animos sibi conciliaverit improborum, et quantum etiam sibi plebem conciliaverit improborum, et quantum etiam sibi plebem devinxerit.*

[10] S. has *comprobaret.*

A.D. 1196. quæsierunt. Denique, ut fertur, quidam sacerdos propinquus[1] ejus catenam, qua vinctus fuerat, febricitanti superposuit, et salutem mox consecutam impudenti vanitate confinxit. Quo vulgato, populus insipiens hominem digna passum pro justitia et pietate occubuisse credidit, et tanquam martyrem venerari cœpit. Patibulum quo suspensus fuerat, ut in occultis honori haberetur, de loco supplicii furto nocturno sublatum est, terra quoque supposita, tanquam sanguine consecrata suspensi, veluti aliquod sacrum in usus curationum usque ad fossam non modicam per minutias a fatuis est abrasa. Fama mox late dispersa,[2] stultorum, "quorum," ut ait Salomon, "infinitus est numerus," et curiosorum greges confluebant ad locum; quibus nimirum aggregabantur qui forte ex diversis Angliæ provinciis propriis pro negotiis Lundonias adventassent. Excubabat itaque ibidem jugiter insulsa multitudo, quantum honoris defuncto impendens tantum etiam criminis illi per quem absumptus videbatur impingens. Tantumque invaluit error vanissimus, ut etiam prudentes,[3] tanquam fascinatos rumoribus, irretire potuisset, nisi ea, quæ de homine illo compererant, cautius ad memoriam reduxissent. Excepto enim eo quod paulo ante exitium, ut supra expositum est, homicidium perpetravit, quod utique vel solum ad hoc, ne pro martyre propter supplicium haberetur, cordato cuilibet sufficere debuisset, ipsius sub ipsa morte confessio eorum frontes qui talem sibi martyrem fecerunt, justo si haberent in corpore sanguinem, debuit rubore perfundere. Quippe, ut a viris fide dignis accepimus, in ipso supplicio quo absumptus est, cum a quibusdam moneretur vel sero humili peccatorum confessione dare gloriam Deo, confessus est se ecclesiam illam, quam a

A priest related to Longbeard pretends that a miraculous cure has been wrought by a relic of the agitator.

Eccles. x. 8.

A crowd always on the spot.

The enormities which Longbeard confessed before his

[1] C. has *propinquis*.

[2] C. has *mox lata mox late dispersa*.

[3] For *etiam prudentes* B. reads *imprudentes*.

facie insequentium cum propria concubina fuerat ingressus, in illa mora, quam ibidem sub inani exspectatione auxilii fecit, semine polluisse: et quod longe majus est, ipsoque[1] dictu horrendum, cum jam hostes nullo subveniente irrumperent, negato Mariæ Filio quod eum non liberaret, diabolum ut vel ab ipso liberaretur invocasse. Inficiabantur quidem[2] hæc justificatores ejus, atque in præjudicium sui martyris maligne conficta dicebant. Porro hanc litem diremit fabricatæ vanitatis[3] in brevi occasus. Veritas quippe solida est et tempore convalescit, concinnata vero falsitas nil habet solidum sed in brevi evanescit. Igitur regni administrator, in sacerdotem illum, qui totius superstitionis caput exstiterat, digna[4] ecclesiasticæ severitatis[5] præeunte vindicta, armatorum globum emisit, qui et rusticam multitudinem fugarent, et si qui forte ibidem persistendum ducerent, comprehensos regio carceri manciparent. Armatam quoque in ipso loco custodiam jugiter observare præcepit, quæ non solum ad supplicationes adveniens vulgus arceret insulsum, verum etiam curiose divertentium inhiberet accessum. Cumque hoc per dies non multos fieret, tota illa concinnatæ superstitionis machina funditus concidit, et popularis opinio conquievit.

A.D. 1196.

death would alone deprive him of the title of martyr.

Archbishop Hubert punishes the priest who invented the story of miraculous cures, and causes the mob to be dispersed by a guard of soldiers.

[1] C. has *ipso quoque*.

[2] C. has *si* in plummet above *quidem*.

[3] *nativitatis*, B.

[4] C. reads *digna et*.

[5] Altered in plummet to *severitate* in B.

Cap. XXII.[1]

De prodigio mortui[2] post sepulturam oberrantis.

A.D. 1196.

Story of a corpse emerging from the grave, May 29.

His diebus in pago Bukingamensi[3] prodigiosa res accidit: quam prius a quibusdam ex parte, postea vero a venerabili archidiacono illius provinciæ Stephano[4] plenius didici. Quidam in fata concedens, juxta morem, honesta uxoris et propinquorum cura, in vigilia Dominicæ Ascensionis sepulturæ est traditus. Sequenti vero nocte cubiculum uxoris quiescentis ingressus, excitatam non solum terruit verum etiam pæne obruit importabili sui pondere superjacto.[5] Altera quoque nocte attonitam pari modo afflixit. Territa periculo mulier adversus tertiæ noctis agonem et deinceps tuto se vigilum consortio munire insomnis ipsa curavit. Affuit tamen ille: sed pulsatus exclamationibus[6] vigilum, cum nocere non posset, abiit. Sic repulsus a conjuge, fratres proprios in eodem vico habitantes similiter fatigavit. Illi vero, juxta muliebris cautelæ exemplum, parati ad excipiendum repellendumque periculum, noctes cum suis ducebant[7] insomnes. Aderat tamen ille tanquam desiderans præoccupare somnolentos: sed repulsus sollicitudine et virtute vigilum, inter animalia quæ vel in domibus vel circa domos erant debacchabatur, quod ipsorum animalium efferatio et motus insoliti declarabant. Tunc amicis quoque et vicinis pari molestia gravis, eandem

[1] D. omits the whole of this chapter, which is, however, contained in B.C. and S.

[2] B. has *mortis.*

[3] B. has *Bukinghamensi.*

[4] Le Neve records allusions to this Stephen in 1192 and 1194 in the Contin. Hist. Croyland., p. 462. This story shows him in office at a later date.

[5] B.C. and S. give this unusual form.

[6] *exclamationibus*, B.S.; *acclamationibus*, C.

[7] B. has *dicebant.*

omnibus necessitatem nocturnæ sollicitudinis ingerebat. Erantque jam in ipso vico per omnes domos vigiliæ generales, dum singuli ad improvisum essent ipsius accessum suspensi. Cumque aliquamdiu hoc modo solis fuisset noctibus debacchatus, luce quoque diurna oberrare cœpit, formidabilis quidem omnibus sed visibilis quibusdam. Plerumque enim[1] pluribus occurrens, uni tantum vel duobus conspicuus erat, cum tamen et ceteros ejus præsentia[2] non lateret. Pavefacti homines supra modum, consilium ab ecclesia quærendum duxerunt: remque integre ad memoratum archidiaconum conventui sacerdotum sollemniter præsidentem cum questu lacrimabili detulerunt. Qui confestim venerabili episcopo Lincolniensi,[3] Lundoniis tunc constituto, cuncta per ordinem scripto insinuans, ejus in re tam inusitata sententiam et auctoritatem merito censuit exspectandam. Episcopo vero stupente super hoc, et subtilem habente tractatum cum suis, fuere qui dicerent talia sæpius in Anglia contigisse, et crebris clarere exemplis quietem populo dari non posse nisi miserrimi hominis corpore effosso et concremato. Indecorum nimis atque indignum hoc visum est venerando pontifici: moxque cartulam absolutionis manu sua conscriptam archidiacono dirigens, ut quomodo illius hominis se corpus haberet oculata fide claresceret, sepulchrum ejus aperiri, et supposita pectori ejus eadem cartula, rursum claudi præcepit. Aperto ergo sepulchro, corpus ita inventum est sicut ibidem fuerat collocatum; pontificalis vero absolutionis cartula pectori ejus apposita, et clauso rursum sepulchro, nec oberrare deinceps visus est, nec alicui[4] molestiam vel terrorem inferre permissus.

A.D. 1196.

Stephen arch-deacon of Bucking-ham refers the case to St. Hugh of Lincoln

The bishop causes a scroll containing his absolution to be affixed to the breast of the corpse, which remains thereafter at rest.

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[1] *enim*, C.S.; om. B.

[2] B. has *latentia*.

[3] The "Magna Vita" contains no reference to this story.

[4] B. has *aliqui*.

Cap. XXIII.[1]

De re consimili quæ accidit apud Berewic.[2]

A.D. 1196

At Berwick a corpse emerges from the grave and infests the neighbourhood.

In aquilonalibus quoque Angliæ partibus aliud non dissimile et æque prodigiosum eodem tempore novimus accidisse. Est vicus nobilis ad ostium Tuidi[3] fluminis, qui Berewic dicitur, de jure regis Scottorum. Ibi quidam vir pecuniosus, sed pessimus, ut postea plenius claruit, post fata sepultus, operatione, ut creditur, Sathanæ, noctibus egrediebatur ex[4] tumulo, et canum cum ingenti latratu prosequente turba, huc illucque ferebatur, et multo cunctis accolis terrore incusso, ante[5] lucem tumulo reddebatur. Cumque hoc per dies fieret[6] plurimos, et nullus jam auderet post vesperum foris inveniri, dum omnes exitialis monstri formidarent occursum, quidnam agendum esset necessarium inter se majores simul et mediocres habuere tractatum, metuentes scilicet simpliciores ex ipsis, si forte negligentius ageretur, ab exanimi prodigio maturius sugillari: prudentiores vero caute reputantes ne forte, tardante remedio, ex[7] crebro pestiferi cadaveris circumactu[8] infectus corruptusque aer, morbos et mortes gigneret plurimorum: quod utique præcavendum crebris in re consimili clarebat exemplis. Conduxerunt itaque decem juvenes audacia insignes qui corpus infandum[9] effoderent, et membratim exsectum[10] redigerent in combustionem et cibum ignis. Quod et factum est et cessavit quassatio. Nam et ipsum monstrum, dum circumferretur a Sathana, sicut dictum

Young men are hired to exhume and burn it.

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[1] D. omits the whole of this chapter.

[2] *Berewic*, S.; *Berwick*, B., and below *Berewyck*; *Berwich*, C., and *Berewich*.

[3] *Tuidi*, B.S.; *Tvedi*, C.

[4] *ex*, B.S.; *de*, C.

[5] C. alone reads, *incusso, incluso ante*.

[6] C. has *hæc per dies fierent*.

[7] *ex*, om. C.

[8] *circumactu*, B.; C.S. have *circuactu*.

[9] *infandum*, B.S.; *nefandum*, C.

[10] B. has *erectum*.

est, quibusdam forte obvium dixisse perhibetur, quod eo incombusto populus requiem habiturus non esset.[1] Eo ergo combusto data quidem videbatur populo requies: sed exorta consequenter lues majorem illius populi partem absumpsit. Nusquam enim alibi tam dire desæviit,[2] cum in cunctis ipso tempore exstiterit Angliæ finibus generalis, ut suo loco plenius exponetur.

A.D. 1196.

Cap. XXIV.

De quibusdam prodigiosis.[3]

Ante A.D. 1196.

Other stories of corpses wandering by night.

Sane quod mortuorum cadavera de sepulchris egredientia nescio quo spiritu ad viventium vel terrorem vel perniciem circumferantur, et ad eadem sepulchra sponte se illis aperientia revertantur, non facile in fidem reciperetur nisi et crebra nostri temporis exempla suppeterent et testimonia abundarent. Mirum plane si talia olim contigere, cum nihil tale in libris veterum reperiatur, quibus utique ingens studium fuit memorabilia quæque literis mandare. Cum enim quædam etiam modica conscribere nequaquam neglexerint,[4] quomodo rem tanti stuporis simul et horroris, si forte illo seculo contigit, supprimere potuere? Porro si velim omnia hujusmodi scribere quæ nostris contigisse[5] temporibus comperi, nimis operosum simul et onerosum erit. Duo tantum[6] recentis memoriæ supra memoratis annectere, et nostræ historiæ, quoniam se præbet occasio, ad posterorum cautelam inserere libet.

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[1] *habiturus non esset*, B.S.; *non haberet*, C.
[2] B. has *deservit*.
[3] C. has *prodigiis*.
[4] *neglexerint*, B.D.S.; *negligerent*, C.
[5] *contigisse*, B.D.S.; *contigere*, C.
[6] *tantum*, B.D.S.; *tamen*, C.

Ante A.D. 1196.

A priest buried at Melrose Abbey wanders by night.

Ante annos aliquot cujusdam illustris feminæ capellanus exuens hominem, apud nobile illud cœnobium quod Mailros[1] dicitur sepulturam accepit. Qui nimirum sacri ordinis, quo pollebat, in modico habens respectum, supra modum secularis exstiterat, et maxime quod divinorum confectorem sacramentorum denigrabat, adeo venatoriæ deditus vanitati ut infami elogio a plurimis *Hundeprest*, id est canum presbyter, diceretur. Et quidem hoc dum viveret vel ridebatur ab hominibus vel humanius pensabatur, post mortem vero ex eventu reatus ejus claruit. Noctibus siquidem tumulo exiens, in ipso quidem monasterio, obsistentibus habitantium sanctorum meritis, non poterat quenquam terrere vel lædere. Porro extra monasterium oberrabat, et maxime circa cubiculum propriæ quondam dominæ cum ingenti fremitu et horrendo murmure ferebatur. Quod cum sæpius fieret, illa supra modum anxia, magnitudinem sui vel pavoris vel periculi venienti ad se pro causa monasterii cuidam ex fratribus intimavit, lacrimabiliter postulans uti solito impensiores pro ea tanquam in agone posita preces Domino funderentur, cujus anxietati frater ille, nam de sancto loci illius collegio crebris beneficiis optime merita videbatur, pie justeque condoluit, et citum remedium de misericordia Summi Provisoris spopondit. Reversusque[2] ad monasterium, alium sibi constantis æque animi fratrem et duos juvenes validos sociavit, cum quibus cœmiterium, ubi sepultus erat infelix ille presbyter, pervigil custodiret. Hi ergo quatuor, animis armisque instructi, mutuo tuti solatio pernoctabant in loco. Noctis jam medium fluxerat, et nihil monstri apparuit. Unde factum est, ut, relicto ibidem solo illo qui ceteros sibi aggregarat,[3] tres in proximam

Four armed monks watch the grave.

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[1] The chronicle of Melrose does not allude to this.

[2] B. has *reversus quoque*.

[3] C. reads *aggregaret*.

Ante A.D. 1196.

ædem secederent, ut frigus nocturnum, quod causabantur,[1] igne levarent. Cum ergo solus ille in loco persisteret, aptum se tempus ut fiduciam hominis frangeret invenisse diabolus æstimans, illico vas proprium, quod solito diutius quievisse videbatur, excitavit. Quo eminus conspecto, ille pro eo quod solus erat primo diriguit: sed mox resumpta fiducia, cum locus non esset effugii, impetum pestis cum terribili murmure irruentis fortiter excipiens, bipennem, quam manu gestabat, alte corpori ejus infixit. Accepto illa[2] vulnere, sonore[3] ingemuit: et conversa, non segnius quam advenerat,[4] abiit, cum homo mirabilis fugientem a tergo urgeret, et sepulchrum proprium repetere cogeret: quod illi se ultro aperiens, suscipiensque hospitem a facie insequentis, eadem facilitate mox[5] clausum apparuit. Quibus actis, qui nocturni frigoris impatientes ad ignem secesserant vel sero accurrunt,[6] et auditis quæ acciderant ad effodiendum tollendumque de medio cadaver maledictum summo mane necessarii cooperatores fuerunt. Quod cum egesta humo[7] nudassent, ingens in eo vulnus quod acceperat, et cruoris plurimum, qui ex vulnere fluxerat, in sepulchro invenerunt. Sublatum igitur extra septa monasterii comburentes, cineres quoque disperserunt. Hæc nimirum prout a viris religiosis accepi, simplici narratione digessi.

Three retiring after midnight the corpse assails the fourth, but, receiving a wound from a battle-axe, returns to the tomb.

The corpse is dug up and burned.

Item aliud non dissimile sed perniciosius contigit apud castellum quod Anantis dicitur, prout accepi a sene religioso, qui clarus et potens in partibus illis exstiterat, et in sua hoc ipsum præsentia factum memorabat. Quidam vir malæ actionis metu vel legum vel hostium ex Eboracensi provincia ad dominum me-

A worse case is told to the author by a monk.

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[1] *causabantur*, B.D.; imperfect, *caubantur*, S.; *cavebant*, C.

[2] *illa*, B.D.S.; *illo*, C.

[3] C. has *sonorus ingemuit: et conversus.*

[4] *advenerat*, B.D.S.; *venerat*, C.

[5] C. reads *moxque.*

[6] *accurrunt*, C.S.; *accurrerunt*, B.D.

[7] B. has *homo.*

Ante A.D. 1196.

A refugee from Yorkshire dies unshriven, and his corpse cannot rest in the grave.

morati castelli,[1] cui notus erat, confugiens, ibidem resedit: et sortitus ministerium suis moribus aptum, augere magis proprias quam corrigere studuit pravitates. Uxorem duxit, in propriam sane perniciem, ut postea claruit. Audiens enim de ipsa quædam, spiritu zelotypiæ vexabatur. Cupiensque an vera essent dignoscere, finxit se longius iturum, nec rediturum nisi post dies aliquot. Reversus autem vespere, atque in cubiculum clanculo per ancillam consciam intromissus, super trabem cubiculi[2] uxoris imminentem latuit, oculis probaturus si quid ibidem contra thori[3] fidem ageretur. Vidensque uxorem cum vicino juvene fornicantem, præ ira immemor sui effectus decidit,[4] graviterque se juxta ipsos cubantes ad terram elisit. Et mœchus quidem exsilivit: uxor vero callide factum dissimulans, molliter erigere curavit jacentem. Ille ad se modice reversus, stuprum improperat, pœnam comminatur. At illa: "Signa," inquit, "te, domine mi: "aliena loqueris: quod non tibi sed morbo imputetur "quo teneris." Quassatus ergo ex casu et toto fere corpore stupidus, tanquam morbo decubuit. Quem vir memoratus, qui hæc mihi retulit, pietatis officio visitans, monuit eum de peccatis suis confessionem facere, et eucharistiam juxta morem sumere Christianum. Ille vero quid sibi accidisset, et quid uxor diceret, replicans, quod salubriter monebatur in crastinum distulit, crastinum in corpore non visurus. Nocte enim sequenti Christianæ expers gratiæ meritis malis urgentibus soporem morti sociavit. Et Christianam quidem sepulturam indignus accepit, quæ illi non profuit. Noctibus enim operatione Sathanæ de sepulchro egrediens, prosequente eum cum latratu horribili canum turba per plateas et circa domos oberrabat, cunctis

[1] *castelli fugiens*, C., omitting *confugiens*.

[2] *cubiculi*, C.S.; *cubili*, B.D.

[3] *thori*, om. C.

[4] *decidit*, D.S.; *cecidit*, C.

ostia obserantibus, nec exire præsumentibus ad aliquod negotium ab incipientibus tenebris usque ad ortum solis, ne quis forte oberranti monstro sugillandus occurreret.[1] Verum hæc cautela nil profuit. Nam tetri corporis circumactu infectus aer, haustu pestilenti universas morbis et mortibus domos replevit. Jamque vicus, qui populosus paulo ante fuerat, pæne exinanitus videbatur, dum cladi superstites, ne et ipsi morerentur, ad partes alias commigrarent.[2] Hanc nimirum suæ desolationem parrochiæ dolens vir ille, ex cujus hæc ore accepi,[3] in sacra dominica, quæ Palmarum dicitur, viros sapientes et religiosos accersire studuit, qui in[4] tanto discrimine[5] salubre darent consilium, et consolatione vel modica miseras plebis reliquias recrearent. Facto igitur sermone ad populum, et rite expletis venerandæ diei sollemnibus, religiosos hospites cum ceteris honoratis qui aderant vocavit ad mensam. Quibus epulantibus, duo fratres juvenes, qui patrem clade illa amiserant, sese mutuo cohortantes, "Monstrum," inquiunt, "istud patrem nostrum perdidit, et nos etiam cito disperdet si[6] negligamus. Agamus ergo aliquid virile, tum propriæ salutis cautela tum in ultionem necis paternæ. Non est qui impediat, cum et in domo sacerdotis convivium celebretur, et totus hic vicus sileat tanquam vacuus. Effodiamus pestem illam, et comburamus igni." Arrepto itaque ligone satis retunso cœmiterium adeuntes fodere cœperunt. Cumque se altius fossuros esse crederent, repente cadaver non multa humo egesta nudaverunt, enormi corpulentia distentum, facie rubenti turgentique supra modum. Sudarium vero, quo obvolutum fuerat, conscissum penitus videbatur. Nec territi[7] juvenes, quos ira stimulabat, vulnus exanimi corpori

Ante A.D. 1196.

The corpse corrupts the air and causes a pestilence

Two young men dig it up, extract the heart, and then burn the whole.

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[1] D. reads *occurret.*

[2] For *commigrarent*, B. reads *etiam migrarent.*

[3] *accepi*, B.D.S.; *suscepi*, C.

[4] *in*, om. C.

[5] C. has *discrimini.*

[6] B. has *sed.*

[7] B. has a doubtful word, *Peni.*

Ante A.D. 1196.

intulerunt: ex quo tantus continuo sanguis effluxit ut intelligeretur sanguisuga fuisse multorum. Trahentes autem illud extra vicum, rogum celeriter construxerunt. Cumque unus ipsorum diceret, cadaver pestiferum ardere non posse nisi corde extracto, alius crebris ictibus retunsi ligonis latus aperuit, et manu injecta cor maledictum extraxit. Quo[1] minutatim discerpto et corpore jam ardente, nuntiatur[2] convivantibus quod gerebatur; et accurrentes, rei gestæ testes in reliquum esse potuerunt. Porro infernali illa belua sic deleta, pestilentia quoque quæ grassabatur[3] in populo conquievit, tanquam igne illo, qui dirum[4] cadaver absumpserat, aer jam esset purgatus, qui ejus fuerat pestilenti motu corruptus. His itaque expositis, ad historiæ ordinem redeamus.

Cap. XXV.

De signo quod visum est in cœlo, et de expugnatione quorundam castellorum.

A.D. 1196.

A parhelion appears on June 16.

In octavis Pentecostes hora diei prima apparuere in cœlo duo soles, sol scilicet verus atque alius tanquam ejus æmulus. Nec facile discerni poterat uter[5] illorum esset sol verus, nisi ex solito processu, alius vero paulo elevatior quasi sequi videbatur; malorum forte quæ subsecuta noscuntur præsagus.[6] Quod signum oculis meis vidi cum aliis quibusdam, qui mecum erant. Cumque suspensi et stupidi diuscule stetissemus, rem tam inusitatam intuentes, repente, dum oculos tædio victi deflectimus, æmulus ille veri solis eva-

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[1] C. has *qui*.

[2] *nuntiatur* altered by contemporary hand to *nuntiabatur*, D.

[3] B. has *crassabatur*.

[4] C. has *durum*.

[5] C. has *utrum*.

[6] *subsecuta noscuntur præsagus*, B.D.S.; *subsecuta sunt noscitur præsagiis*, C., *sunt* being in the margin.

A.D. 1196.

After the expiration of the truce war breaks out. Philip besieges Aumâle. Richard recovers Nonancourt.

nuit. Nec multo post[1] expleto induciarum tempore, quod laborantes populos modice recrearat, cruentus rursum principum furor excanduit. Totis in arma viribus ruitur: igne ferroque florentes paulo ante provinciæ corrumpuntur. Et rex quidem Francorum cum suis copiis Albemerliam[2] obsedit; rex vero Anglorum castrum, quod Nonancurtis dicitur, sui quidem olim juris, sed a rege Francorum jampridem occupatum. Quo mature potitus, propulsandi hostis et solvendæ obsidionis operam sumere rogabatur a suis: sed dissimulavit, sive pugnam, quæ supra modum cruenta foret, exhorrens, sive propensius de suorum, qui castellum obsessum egregie defendebant, virtute confidens. Conversus ergo ad depopulandos fines hostiles, sollicite satagebat absque mutui sanguinis discrimine avertere obsessorem. Verum ille pervicaciter cœptis insistens, cum multo tandem sui exercitus sudore et sanguine castellum deditione obtinuit et evertit. Sane hoc damnum minus contristavit regem Anglorum, quod castelli clarioris receptio compensabat. Verum hoc non multo post sine sufficientibus forte munimentis inventum, recidit in manus regis Francorum.[3] Inimicitiis igitur principum magis magisque crudescentibus, reformandæ paci[4] a bonis et sapientibus inaniter studebatur, cum ipsi ad omne consilium pacis obsurdescerent. Nam sicut[5] scriptum est: "Furor illis secundum similitudinem aspidis surdæ et obturantis aures suas, quæ non exaudiet vocem incantantium." Quan-

Philip takes Aumâle.

Richard takes a castle, but loses it again.

Ps. lvii. 5, 6.

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[1] Gervase (i. 532) states that the truce was arranged to last till June 24, 1196, but Hoveden (iv. 4, 5) implies, rather by collocation of events than by direct statement, that the actual outbreak of war was earlier. Newburgh, in cap. xviii. (p. 463, l. 24), and more clearly here, gives June as the date. See cap. xxviii., lib. II. (p. 172), "mense Junio, *quando solent reges ad bella procedere*." Rigord agrees.

[2] *Albemerliam*, S.; *Albemarliam*, B.C.D.

[3] Perhaps Gameges (Hoved. iv. 5), but it belonged to Richard in 1198. Perhaps Newburgh merely refers to Nonancourt, which Rigord says Philip captured again.

[4] C. has *pacis*.

[5] *sicut*, B.C.S.; *ut*, D.

A.D. 1196. The efforts of peace-makers are unavailing.

quam in his regis Anglorum jus proprium repetentis causa potior, et ira proculdubio justior fuerit, ut supra ostensum est. Pace itaque desperata, cum nec[1] ille ad resignandum quod illicite occuparat, nec iste ad quiescendum nisi jure suo redintegrato ulla potuisset ratione induci, quantum inter se superbi principes fremebant tantum et miseræ plebes gemebant. Quicquid enim delirant reges, innoxiæ plectuntur plebes. Horat. Ep. i. 2, 14.

Cap. XXVI.

De fame et peste per Angliam grassante.

A.D. 1196. The horrors of pestilence and famine are added to those of war.

Aggravata est etiam ipso tempore manus Domini super populum Christianum, vesaniæ scilicet principum vastanti provincias jungens famem et pestem, ut pæne illud in nobis propheticum completum[2] esse videatur: "Plaga inimici percussi te, castigatione crudeli." Jerem. xxx. 14. Et quidem fames intempestivis edita imbribus, per annos jam[3] aliquot[4] Galliæ Angliæque populos vehementer attriverat, sed regibus inter se[5] debacchantibus plus solito invaluit. Cumque vulgus pauperum passim[6] inedia deperiret,[7] secuta est e vestigio, tanquam ex pauperum mortibus aere corrupto, pestis sævissima, quæ et illis quibus alimenta abundabant minime parceret, et indigentibus longum famis cruciatum breviaret. In aliis sane regionibus quomodo illius se temporis res habuerint minus nobis constat; de Anglia vero quod scimus loquimur, et quæ vidimus eo tempore testamur. 1 Johan. iv. 14.

An epidemical fever rages

Serpebat effusa lues, uno tantum morbo, febre scilicet quæ acuta dicitur, per sin-

[1] For *nec* D. reads *vero.*

[2] D. reads *complectum.*

[3] *jam*, om. B.

[4] On p. 492 it is stated that 1197 was the fifth year of this famine. Rigord mentions it under 1195.

[5] *se*, om. B.D.

[6] *passim*, om. C.

[7] *deperiret*, B.D.S.; *deperisset*, C.

gulos dies tam multos corripiens tam multos conficiens,[1] ut vix invenirentur[2] qui vel curam languidis vel sepulturam mortuis exhiberent.[3] Consuetus funeris apparatus cessabat: et quacunque hora diurna quis obiisset mox matri terræ reddebatur, nisi cum forte aliquis nobilior vel ditior decessisset. In plerisque etiam locis receptui cadaverum fiebant fossæ non modicæ, cum propter morientium multitudinem facultas non esset singillatim singulos juxta morem humare. Cum ergo tam multi cotidie morerentur, etiam incolumes animo languebant, et vultu pallebant, et moribundis similes incedebant, tanquam continuo morituri. In solis[4] autem monasteriis eadem labes minime grassabatur. Quæ nimirum postquam per quinque vel sex fere menses passim desæviit, tandem, hiemali rigore consopita, quievit. Porro hac tam crudeli clade altercantium[5] principum duriores animi fuere, qui in studio belligerandi hiemem æstati et autumno junxere.

A.D. 1196. — in England, destroying so many that pits are dug for burials. In the winter, after raging for about six months, the epidemic abates. The war rages through winter to summer and autumn.

Cap. XXVII.

Quomodo Alemanni secundo signum Dominicum[6] susceperunt.

A.D. 1195. — The emperor after the release of Richard's hostages plans a crusade.

Sane rex Anglorum paulo ante obsides suos apud Teutonicum imperatorem relictos absolute receperat, persoluta illi pactæ redemptionis summa. Quibus receptis, dixisse fertur a captivitate Alemannica tunc primo sibi se redditum. Liberatus itaque ab exactore[7] tam gravi, intentione[8] integra bellicis negotiis insiste-

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[1] *tam multos corripiens . . . . conficiens:* B.C.D.S. concur in this reading.
[2] C. has *inveniretur.*
[3] C. has *exhiberet.*
[4] *solis*, om. C.
[5] C. has *alternantium.*
[6] C. omits *Dominicum.*
[7] *exactione*, R.
[8] *tam . . . intentione*, om. B.

A.D. 1195. bat: de reversione in Syriam, cui se inde rediens devoverat, nihil vel tepide cogitans, non illi imputetur; necessitate siquidem, quam primo per imperatorem Teutonicum, ac deinde per regem Francorum patiebatur, apud sobrios judices facile excusatur.[1] Porro idem imperator, ut quasi expiaret quod in Christianum principem ab Oriente revertentem tam fœdæ[2] avaritiæ instinctu commiserat, et pecunias quibus Angliam nudaverat[3] piis[4] usibus applicaret, Orientalis ecclesiæ miserandis[5] reliquiis subvenire decrevit. Considerabat etiam per se actum quod duo illi magni reges, relictis quæ Christi sunt, sua tantum quærerent, et feralibus in alterutrum odiis debacchando vires more tyrannico frangerent Christianas. Cupiens ergo hanc jacturam religiosa opera compensare, anno a partu sacræ Virginis M°C°XC°V° circa sollemnitatem beati Andreæ apostoli, convocatis apud Gormaciam primis imperii ecclesiasticis pariter laicisque personis, et devotione propria cunctis declarata, ad æmulandum pro Christo sublimi exemplo provocavit plurimos. Denique sedente eo sollemniter in cathedrali ecclesia continuis octo diebus, et consedente, qui ad hoc ipsum venerat, Apostolicæ[6] sedis legato cum omni frequentia inclitorum: iis quoque qui sapientia, dignitate, et facundia præcellebant per dies singulos in auribus Christianæ multitudinis potenti eloquio declamantibus: tantus[7] fidei et devotionis in animis audientium fervor incanduit, ut fas esset dicere, "Digitus Dei est hoc." Magnis præsulibus et præclaris ducibus cum multitudine virorum fortium Dominicum characterem per dies singulos certatim sumentibus, ipse quoque imperator paratus fuit eodem signo cum ceteris insigniri. Verum hoc ab omnibus altiori consilio dissuasum est, allegantibus

The German nobles take the cross at Worms, about Nov. 30. 1195.

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[1] *apud . . . excusatur*, om. B.
[2] D. alone has *fide*.
[3] *nudaverat*, C.D.S.; *mandaverat*, B.
[4] *piis*, B.D.S.; *propriis*, C.
[5] *miserandis*, om. C.
[6] B. has *Apostolicorum*.
[7] *tantus*, B.D.S.; *tantæ*, C.

Christianæ expeditioni conducere,[1] ut in imperio manens, de victualibus progresso exercitui pro tempore transmittendis propensiori cura satageret, et, cum res posceret, laborantibus supplementa militiæ mitteret. Itaque secunda in Syriam Germanicarum atque Italicarum gentium expeditio totis viribus parabatur, cum reges nostri nil sanum aut sobrium meditantes, proprio tantum ad multorum discrimen indulgerent furori. A.D. 1195.

Cap. XXVIII.

De dissensione regis Ricardi et Rothomagensis archiepiscopi.

A.D. 1196.

Dispute between Richard and Walter archbishop of Rouen, the former having taken the isle of Andely, the property of the see of Rouen, for military purposes.

His diebus orta est dissensio inter regem Ricardum et Galterium[2] Rothomagensem archiepiscopum: tanto fœdior[3] quanto majori prius videbantur amicitia cohærere. Idem enim pontifex eidem principi et ante regnum et in regno devotus semper et fidelis[4] exstiterat, ejusque sibi animum multis et præclaris obsequiis obligarat. Denique ipso Orientalem expeditionem ingrediente, domi pro officio residere non passus, ne illi vel ad tempus deesset, animo subeundi quælibet cum eo discrimina usque in[5] Siciliam una progressus est. Rex vero ibidem[6] audiens tyrannicos mores Eliensis episcopi, cui regni custodiam regimenque crediderat, remisit eum in Angliam, datis memorato episcopo mandatis, ut eum in administratione regni per omnia collegam asciseret. Verum ab homine singularem gloriam amante ad collegium non admissus, sustinuit

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[1] C. has *condecere.*

[2] *Galterium,* B.D.S.; *Gauterium,* C.

[3] For *fœdior,* B. has *serior.*

[4] *et fidelis,* om. B.

[5] *in,* B.D.S.; *ad,* C.

[6] *ibidem,* B.D.; *idem,* C.S.: a case in which the leading MSS. are almost certainly wrong.

A.D. 1196. siluitque ad tempus. Illo vero post modicum a regni nobilibus[1] fastum ejus non ferentibus fortiter debellato atque ignominiose expulso, voto et decreto generali susceptam[2] regni curam laudabili moderamine gessit. Cumque rex[3] post diutinam in Germania detentionem, pactis tandem cum imperatore celebratis, mature liberandus speraretur, devotum sibi præsulem accersiendum putavit, eumque non invitum apud imperatorem pro summa non modica obsidem reliquit. Rege vero in regnum regresso, bellicisque intento negotiis, idem pontifex in gratiam ejus imperatori de[4] proprio, ut dicitur, satisfaciens, ad propria cum gloria remeavit. Verum princeps bellica quadam necessitate, quæ plerumque et amicis non parcit, minorem illi gratiam quam sperabat rependit: præsertim cum Eliensis episcopus ad auriculam principis frequenter pro officio positus, nam cancellarius erat regius, illi apud principem plurimum derogaret. Infestus quippe illi erat causa superius memorata. Exasperatus ergo pontifex propter quædam de jure ecclesiæ suæ a rege præsumpta, cum rex bellicam necessitatem obtendens nequaquam illi ad præsens satisfaceret, sed bellis cessantibus satisfactionem promitteret,[5] Apostolicæ sedis judicium appellavit, et suspensis in sua diœcesi divinæ laudis organis, Romam contendit.[6] Responsales quoque regii e vestigio secuti,[7] in conspectu summi pontificis in faciem illi restitere:[8] ea quidem quæ ab eo contra regem proponebantur minime inficiantes, sed necessitatem regiam verbis ad deprecandum compositis excusantes. Tunc summus pontifex actori[9]

The archbishop in anger appeals to Rome, and places Normandy under interdict.

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[1] *nobilibus*, B.D.S.; *nobilioribus*, C.

[2] *susceptam*, D.S.; *suscepti*, C.

[3] *rex*, B.D.; om. C.S.

[4] *de*, om. C.

[5] B. has *promittere*.

[6] His letter given by Diceto, ii. 148–150, shows that he set out on Nov. 7, 1196.

[7] Chief among these was Longchamp: see following chapter.

[8] B. has *resistere*.

[9] C. has *auctori*.

dixisse fertur: "Nota est orbi terrarum injusta regis "Anglorum vel captivatio ab Oriente, ubi Christo "militaverat, cum signo ejusdem militiæ revertentis, "vel spoliatio, grave et diutinum sub catena Aleman- "nica tædium patientis. Debuit ergo tua discretio "pro tempore dissimulare, etiam si majora quam "proponis ratione necessitatis bellicæ attentasset." Hæc dicens, principi quidem tanquam fatigato injuriis et justum bellum gerenti morem gerere studuit; pontificem vero alias delinitum atque placatum ad propria remisit.

A.D. 1196.

The pope excuses Richard, but sends the archbishop away satisfied by other means.

Cap. XXIX.

De morte Eliensis episcopi, qui cancellarius potius meruit appellari.

Sane inter eos quos idem rex pro sua causa Romam profiscisci voluit, clariores fuisse videntur Eliensis episcopus, qui et cancellarius regius, et Dunelmensis[1] electus,[2] qui Romam veniens, a summo pontifice ordinari meruit. Cancellarius vero a rege digressus morbo occubuit,[3] quo ingravescente post dies aliquot vitam finivit;[4] jam non coram Romano pontifice causam regis Anglorum acturus, sed ad tribunal Regis Angelorum pro seipso rationem redditurus. De hoc quidem episcopo, qui a paucis quidem episcopus ab omnibus vero cancellarius dicebatur, eo quod a tempore ordinationis suæ longe magis palatio quam ecclesiæ militaret: de hujus, inquam, episcopi moribus et actibus, et qualia[5] circa illum propter intolerabi-

A.D. 1197.

The king sends the bishop of Ely and the bishop-elect of Durham to plead his cause before the pope.

Death of Longchamp (Jan. 31).

Character of William

[1] *Donelmensis*, in B. and D.

[2] Philip of Poictiers. William bishop of Lisieux was joined with them in the mission.

[3] *occubuit*, C.S.; *decubuit*, B.D.

[4] He died at Poictiers (Gervase, i. 543).

[5] D. has *qua*.

A.D. 1197.

Longchamp, his pride and devotion to secular affairs.

lem ejus fastum provenerint, cum ei memoratus princeps Orientalem peregrinationem ingressurus administrandam[1] in Anglia rerum summam credidisset, suo loco superius expositum est. Expulsus ergo ab Anglia, atque in Galliis pro tempore exsulans, cum eundem regem ab Oriente revertentem Alemannica teneri catena audisset, ocius eum visitare curavit, quo et suæ circa eum devotionis comprobaret fervorem, ejusque in posterum propensiorem obsequiis mercaretur favorem.

His industry on behalf of Richard when in prison.

Assistens ergo vincto insigni toto tempore sortis indignæ, in multis ei necessarius exstitit: et si quid forte contra se pro rebus in Anglia turbatis animo principis sederat, novæ sedulitatis officiis abolevit.

On his return Richard had reinstated him as chancellor.

Mutata vero circa regem fortuna in Angliam cum ipso reversus, et rebus in Anglia compositis transfretantem ad bellum transmarinum secutus, cancellarii officio strenue fungebatur: sacerdotio vero ita, ut expers sollicitudinis et oneris pastoralis tantummodo ad honorem et commoda episcopus esse videretur, et nomine episcopi per nomen cancellarii adumbrato, a paucis episcopus diceretur. Denique principi bellum atrox et cruentum cum Francis gerenti per annos aliquot seculari magis quam episcopali industria collaborans,

His death the cause of rejoicing in England.

tandem, ut dictum est, morbo defecit. Lætata est Anglia in morte ejus, quia incubuerat timor ejus super illam. Cum enim et apud principem plurimum posset, et suæ olim ab Anglia ignominiosæ extrusionis homo ingentis animi immemor esse non posset: manifestum erat, quod terræ, quæ illum evomuerat tanquam humorem pestiferum, crebro machinaretur malum. Quem ergo Angliæ nobiles non frustra formidaverant vivum, parcius flevere defunctum.

[1] *administrandam*, B.C.D.S.

Cap. XXX.

Quomodo finitum est bellum breve Britannicum, et quadragenarium Tholosanum.[1]

His diebus Britones, qui a rege Anglorum jampridem desciverant, vasta finium suorum per cohortes regias depopulatione coerciti, in ejusdem regis fœdus et gratiam cum suo Arturo rediere.[2]

A.D. 1197.

The Bretons are compelled to make peace.

Bellum quoque Tolosanum,[3] quod illustri Anglorum regi Henrico et filio ejus Ricardo res summi negotii fuerat, et per annos quadraginta vires multorum attriverat populorum, eodem tempore, Deo propitio, exspiravit. Comes enim Sancti Egidii, pactis[4] cum rege Anglorum celebratis, sororem ejus, quæ olim regi Siciliæ nupserat, et eo præmature defuncto ad fratrem redierat, cum ingenti gloria conjugem duxit,[5] atque hoc modo inveteratum illud odium[6] conquievit.

The 40 years war with Toulouse is concluded by the marriage of Johanna, Richard's sister, to Raymond VI. (A.D. 1196).

Itaque rex Anglorum, qui ad tria bella quasi trifariam divisus erat,[7] atque ideo minus in singulis poterat, duobus finitis, Britonico[8] scilicet et Tolosano, ad[9] tertium, quod cum rege Francorum gerebat, integer redditus,[10] cœpit robustius agere et terribilior hostibus apparere. Certabatur autem utrimque totis viribus: tantusque erat debacchantium furor, ut nec sacris Quadragesimæ diebus deferrent, deprædationibus[11] atque incendiis loca prius florentia corrumpentes, nec

Relieved thus of two wars, Richard turns with greater energy to the third—against Philip.

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[1] *Tolosanum*, B.D.

[2] Hoveden (iv. 19) dates this in 1197.

[3] *Tholosanum*, C.

[4] C. has *pactus*.

[5] Hoveden mentions this marriage under the year 1196. The Ann. Winton. (p. 64), Ann. de Waverl. (p. 250), and Contin. Flor. Wigorn. (ii. 161), assign the same date. Her son (Raymond VII.), according to Hoveden (iv. 21) and other authorities, was born in July 1197. Newburgh only dates the marriage by collocation, but still in the clearest way. See "*eodem tempore*."

[6] *odium*, C.S.; *malum*, B.D.

[7] *erat*, B.C.D.S.

[8] altered to *Britannico*, D.

[9] *ad*, in plummet in C.

[10] B. has *reddit*.

[11] B. has *deprædatoribus*.

A.D. 1197. sacerdotibus Domini, si forte inciderent, secus quam popularibus parcendum ducentes. Sane tam longa tamque exitialis concertatio principum detrectantium concordiam poterat saltem per unius partis victoriam breviari, si convenire et congredi voluissent.[1] Verum hoc siquando alter eorum virium suarum fiducia voluit, alter ancipitem[2] formidans eventum caute declinavit. Denique nocendo alterutrum dum alter alterum[3] fatigando et lassando frangere studuit: uterque bellum sub exspectatione melioris fortunæ protrahere, quam per incerti victoris gloriam mature terminare maluit.

Cap. XXXI.

De captione episcopi Beluacensis.

A.D. 1197.

The fury of the kings increases the horrors of the famine now running its fifth year.

Annus a partu Virginis M^us^C^us nonagesimus septimus vertebatur, et[4] furor principum minime defervebat, tanquam juvans manum Domini iramque[5] ejus accumulans super populum Christianum. Nam famis validæ, quæ Galliæ Angliæque regiones vehementer angebat, annus jam quintus currebat. Sane rex Francorum, qui anno præcedenti fortius egisse videbatur, cœpit remissius agere, et fines proprios mollius tueri. Rex vero Anglorum paulatim augebatur viribus et prosperabatur magis. Denique vicum insignem, qui dicitur sancti Walarici,[6] repente aggressus, potenter effregit, portum commeatibus abundantem obtinuit, opes abstulit, munitionem evertit, præda onustus abiit.

Richard burns St. Valery (April 15).

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[1] C. has *voluisset.*

[2] C. has *anticipem.*

[3] *alter alterutrum,* C.

[4] C. omits *vertebatur et,* and reads *anno* M°C° *nonagesimo* VII°.

[5] For *manum . . . iramque,* B. has *idem iram.*

[6] *Walarici,* C.S.; *Walerici,* B.D.

A.D. 1197.

Nec multo post in pago Beluacensi castrum quod Milliacum[1] dicitur per suos expugnavit, moxque thesaurum reperit, id est, successum spe majorem. Beluacensis[2] enim episcopus, homo ferocis animi, et propinquitate regia inclitus, audiens Milliacum[1] oppugnari, sumptis propere armis non suis, id est, militiæ secularis non spiritualis, cum armata multitudine contra hostes audacter egressus, et fortiter cum eis congressus, bellicosus magis pontifex quam religiosus apparuit, sed fortunam non recte culpavit. Nam judicio Dei victus, captus,[3] et vinctus cum quibusdam aliis nobilibus, regi Anglorum, cui tam in Orientali expeditione et Alemannicis vinculis quam regresso[4] ad propria, supra modum infestus exstiterat, gratissimum munus oblatus est. Cumque Rothomagi[5] vinctus servaretur, duo, ut dicitur, ex familiaribus clericis ejus supplices ad regem venerunt, postulantes gratiam, ut sibi liceret domino suo in vinculis ministrare. Quibus ille, "Vos," inquit, "judicate inter me et dominum vestrum. Ut enim quæ mihi vel intulit, vel molitus est mala, oblivioni tradantur usque ad unum: certe ab Oriente rediens, et detentus ab imperatore Romano, respectu personæ regiæ mollius tractabar, et cum decenti honore servabar. Superveniens autem idem dominus vester vespere, cujus rei gratia venerit, et apud imperatorem nocte quid egerit, expertus sum mane. Aggravata est enim super me manus

The bishop of Beauvais, hearing that the castle of Milli is attacked, advances against Richard's troops, and is taken (May 19).

He is imprisoned at Rouen.

Richard's reply to the bishop's chaplains.

[1] *Milliacum*, D.S.; *Miliacum*, B.C.

[2] B. has *Belluacensis*.

[3] Diceto (ii. 152), Gervase (i. 544), and the Annal. Winton., p. 65, agree with Newburgh in saying that the capture took place in 1197. Hoveden gives the date 1196, which is clearly wrong, but supplies a circumstantial account of the affair. Prince John and Marcadeus seem to have been plundering close to Beauvais, and the bishop was captured sallying out against them. *After* the capture Milli was taken by assault.

[4] D. has *regressu*.

[5] C. has *Rothomagensi*.

A.D. 1197. "imperatoris, tantoque mox oneratus sum ferro, quantum equus vel asinus ferre vix posset. Juste ergo "decernite, qualem dominus vester habere custodiam "debeat apud me, qui talem mihi fecit apud detentorem meum." Clerici vero ad hæc non habentes quid dicerent, frustrati abierunt.[1] Bellicosus itaque pontifex servabatur in vinculis, et tractabatur ab hostibus mitius forte quam meruerat, sed plane durius quam episcopum decebat. Interpellavit autem per suos Romanum pontificem, ut ecclesiastici vigoris instantia liberaretur de manibus detentoris. Idem vero summus pontifex prudenter considerans, quod rex Anglorum episcopum non prædicantem sed prœliantem cepisset, et rigidum magis hostem quam pacificum præsulem teneret in vinculis; ut vinctum relaxaret, illi molestus esse noluit, sed interpellanti sapienter et discrete respondit, improperans, quod secularem militiam ecclesiasticæ prætulisset, et pro baculo pastorali lanceam, pro mitra galeam, pro alba loricam, et clypeum pro stola sumpsisset, et gladium ferreum pro gladio Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, negansque se[2] pro eo vincto imperaturum regi Anglorum, sed opportune supplicaturum pollicens. Vinctus itaque pontifex relaxationem suam citra regum concordiam desperabat: atque ideo pacem, quam prius incentor belli oderat, in illo vinculorum tædio jugi desiderio suspirabat.

The pope, reproving the bishop for his conduct, promises to request, not to direct his release.

[1] *abierunt*, B.D.S.; *decesserunt*, C.

[2] In C. *se* occurs twice here, and also after *vincto*.

Cap. XXXII.

De defectione quorundam a rege Francorum, et qua occasione treuia[1] statuta est[2] inter ipsum et regem Anglorum.

A.D. 1197.

Certain powerful nobles transfer their services to Richard. The count of Flanders receives money from Richard and fights on his side. The count takes Douai and besieges Arras. The kings avoid each other; Richard takes castles near Bourges, Philip captures Dangu. Philip hastens to relieve Arras.

Eodem tempore defecerunt a rege Francorum quidam regni ejus potentes, illatis ab illo[3] injuriis irritati, et dominum durum causantes, junctique regi Anglorum vires ejus auxerunt, et ab eo vicissim robur acceperunt. E quibus comes Flandrensis, dolens se a rege Francorum juris sui hereditarii dimidia fere parte fraudatum, regis Anglorum pecuniis roboratus,[4] nobile oppidum, quod dicitur Duai, obsessum deditione recepit, quasdam etiam munitiones alias occupavit. Quibus successibus confortatus, crescente fiducia, civitatem Atrebatensem obsedit. Sane tunc reges tanquam ex industria mutuum devitantes occursum, locis diversis exercebantur. Et rex quidem Anglorum in pago Bituricensi munitiones aliquot expugnavit. Rex vero Francorum munitionem Dangu[5] nominatam, quæ ab ipso paulo ante defecerat, castris circumdedit. Qua mature dedita et eversa, memoratæ urbis obsidionem solvere festinavit. Obsessor autem adventu ejus præcognito obsidionem[6] deseruit, hostemque superbum ad persequendum cedendo accendens, dum a tergo incautius progressi, confractis amnium pontibus, difficilem vel illi reditum[7] vel exercitui ejus commeatum facere studuit, arte quam[8] viribus plus effecit. Cumque

[1] *treuia* has been altered in D. to *treuga.*

[2] C. reads, *et qua de causa statuta sunt treuia.* S. has *sunt* in place of *est.*

[3] *illo*, C.D.S.; *eo*, B.

[4] Hoveden (iv. 19) intimates that all were brought over by money. So does Rigord, who gives the treaty with the count of Flanders (Bouquet, xvii. p. 46).

[5] *Dangu*, B.D.S.; C., by alteration in the text and by plummet marking in the margin, reads *Dagū.*

[6] C. reads *obsidionem ejus.*

[7] C. for *illi reditum* has *sibi tædium.*

[8] For *arte quam* C. reads *antequam.*

A.D. 1197.

By breaking down bridges the count of Flanders places the king of France in such difficulties that he offers peace. Richard permits Baldwin to arrange a truce. In September a truce for a year and four months is arranged.

amicis mediantibus inter partes de pace tractaretur, oblatam comes pacem nec respuit, nec absolute amplexus est, obtendens se regi Anglorum sufficientem per obsides idoneos præstitisse atque ab eo vicissim accepisse cautionem, quod neuter eorum sine altero bellum pace mutaret. Pactis tamen[1] inter partes formatis[2] consensu regis Anglorum pro tempore sanciendis,[3] rex Francorum ad propria rediit; comes vero cum festinatione adiit invitandum ad honestæ pacis consensum regem Anglorum. Itaque reges tantum jam pacis avidi quantum bellici laboris pertæsi, anno a partu Virginis M°C° nonagesimo vii°, mense Septembri, cum optimatibus suis atque omni frequentia subditorum ad sollemne in terminis colloquium convenerunt. Ubi de plena quidem pace minus actum est, eo quod animi principum a longa inveterati odii passione difficile sanarentur; sed treuiam[4] unius anni et quatuor mensium[5] tanquam arram futuræ[6] pacis inter se statui maluerunt, adjicientes in pactis, ut negotiantibus regiones essent perviæ, mutuisque provinciæ gauderent solatiis: et ut captivi utrimque competenti et tolerabili redemptione relaxari mererentur. Soluto igitur conventu, militantibus facultas data est ad propria remeandi, et fessæ malis provinciæ pausam modicam cum magnis gratulationibus susceperunt.

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[1] *tamen*, C.D.S.; *tantum*, B.

[2] B. has *formatas*.

[3] B. has *faciendas*.

[4] C. and D. have the form *treugam*.

[5] Hoveden (iv. 24) says for a year from the feast of St. Hilary (Jan. 13, 1198). According to Newburgh, a truce was made in September (on the 8th, as would appear from Gervase), and was to endure for 16 months. This agrees well with Hoveden. The truce (Hoveden, iv. 54) was only kept till after the harvest of August 1198. This Newburgh probably did not live to know.

[6] D. has *futuros*.

Cap. XXXIII.[1]

De re prodigiosa quæ accidit apud Maltonam.[2]

His diebus mense Augusto in nostra,[3] id est, Eboracensi provincia super flumen Derewentum prodigiosa res accidit, quæ silentio prætereunda non est, sed nostræ inserenda[4] historiæ ad notitiam et cautelam posterorum.

A.D. 1197.

An occurrence in the month of August at Malton Priory.

Apud monasterium regularium clericorum, quod Maltone dicitur, coquendæ calci clibanus parabatur. Cumque jam, ut moris est, a latere deorsum ignis immitteretur post solis occubitum, ejusdem loci præpositus cum quibusdam fratribus aderat, et ne tantus in irritum cederet apparatus, sollicite satagebat. Circa aliud vero latus erat fovea modica usui præparata, altitudinis non amplius quam sex vel septem pedum. In hanc sane unus fratrum dum urgendo opus circuiret, incautius per tenebras properans lapsus est. Et cum non statim exsurgeret, percunctante præposito an læsus esset, respondit, "Perii": quo dicto siluit in mortem;[5] mirantibus silentium ejus cunctis qui aderant, cujus mortem ne suspicari quidem poterant. Nam circumfusæ noctis tenebræ interiora foveæ abscondebant. Rogatus autem quidam ex astantibus descendere ad dignoscendum et renuntiandum quomodo se res haberet, descendit: moxque procumbens etiam ipse cum silentio in mortem obdormivit. Quo non renuntiante aliquid neque egrediente, alius nihilominus jussus descendere, eadem sorte mox absorptus est. Tunc stupor apprehendit omnes qui circumstabant: nec tamen adhuc quiescendum putantes, cautius explorandi gratia, tertium descendere monuerunt. Qui, ut dicitur, salutari signo se muniens, in[6] exitialem foveam de-

Some canons of Malton are killed by carbonic acid gas in a pit near a lime-kiln.

[1] D. omits the whole of this chapter.
[2] B. has *Maltone.*
[3] *in nostra,* in the margin of C.
[4] B. has *inserendi.*
[5] B. has *morte.*
[6] *in,* om. C.

A.D. 1197. scendebat,[1] et confestim exclamans,[2] "Morior," inquit, "morior, extrahite me." Qui autem propius astabant, apprehensa summitate scalæ exiguæ per quam descendebat, hærentem scalæ simul cum ipsa scala extraxerunt. Tunica vero, qua induebatur, disrupta, et quasi violentis male attrectantium manibus conscissa videbatur. Sic ergo idem subtractus[3] exitio, sine voce et sensu diu semianimis jacuit, spumas[4] ore provolvens, deinde paulatim ad se rediens, elanguit per dies plurimos. Tunicam vero suam tanquam pestilentem horruit, nec ea etiam resarcita indui passus est.[5] Sane post exitium memorati fratris, et duorum juvenum qui cum eo occubuerant,[6] cum quidam sequenti luce ad eorum extrahenda corpora descendisset, nihil ibidem vel sensit horroris, vel mali expertus est; sed innoxie et cum omni fiducia exanimata[7] corpora de loco exitii elevavit. In quibus profecto nulla læsio apparebat, præterquam in oculis sinistris, qui cruenti et quassati videbantur, livorem circa se tanquam recentis percussuræ prætendentes. Hæc denique prout eorum qui vel interfuerunt, vel ab iis qui interfuerant audierunt, concordi narratione didici, literis mandare curavi; eventus plane, quem pro sua novitate cogor mirari, causam non valens[8] rimari.[9]

Some years before some men in East Anglia were similarly killed in a well.

Contigit autem ante annos aliquot apud Orientales Anglos in vico quodam tres viros operarios, dum studio incolarum puteum vetustum purgarent, et largioris aquæ desiderio e terræ visceribus producendæ altius foderent, subito exanimari; quo viso incolæ eundem puteum ruderibus impleverunt, et locum exitii[10] æternum exanimatis sepulchrum esse voluerunt. At istud

[1] *descendebat*, B.S.; *descendit*, C.

[2] *exclamans*, S.; *clamans*, B.; *exclamat*, C.

[3] C. has *extractus*.

[4] C. has *spumans*.

[5] *passus est*, B.S.; *voluit*, C.

[6] B. has *occubuerunt*.

[7] B. has a doubtful word, apparently *exinnata*.

[8] For *non valens*, B. has *nolens*.

[9] C. has *mirari*.

[10] *exitii*, B.S.; om. C.

non adeo mirum est, quia hinc probabiliter ratio reddi potest. Forte enim fundus putei habuit sive argenti vivi sive alterius rei noxiæ venam occultam; quæ, ut creditur, dum a fossoribus eam contigit aperiri, dirum et pestilentem spiritum exhalavit, qui omnem sensum præveniens in momento exstingueret fodientes.

A.D. 1197.

The author's ideas as to the explanation of this circumstance.

Cap. XXXIV.

De concordia regis Ricardi et Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et de quodam prodigio.[1]

Eodem[2] tempore illustris rex Ricardus et Galterius[3] Rothomagensis archiepiscopus post longam simultatem modestiori studio veterem inter se amicitiam reformarunt, cum et pontifex in gratiam principis jure suo cederet, et princeps pontifici satisfaciens, pro iis quæ de jure Rothomagensis ecclesiæ, ratione necessitatis bellicæ usurpasse[4] videbatur, justam commutationem daret. Cum enim apud vicum, qui Andelaicus[5] dicitur, et[6] erat patrimonium Rothomagensis ecclesiæ, idem rex locum notasset castro pro tuitione Normanniæ super Sequanam flumen construendo aptissimum, timens ne forte idem locus ad hoc ipsum hostiliter occuparetur a rege Francorum, eundem duxit præoccupandum. Cœpit ergo ibidem, natura loci mirabiliter juvante[7] opus humanum, profusis ædificare sumptibus castrum firmissimum contra faciem regis Francorum, memorato

A.D. 1197.

King Richard and the archbishop of Rouen are reconciled.

Richard had taken possession of Andely for military purposes, although it belonged to the see of Rouen.

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[1] In B. the rubric is, "*De rege* "*Ricardo et Rotomagensi archi-* "*episcopo*;" D. has, "*De concordia* "*inter regem Ricardum et Roto-* "*magesem* (sic) *archiepiscopum.*" The hand changes in D. with this rubric, the MS. being finished by the scribe who wrote the spurious chapter referred to in the Preface to Vol. I., p. xlvi. This scribe made corrections when necessary in the previous part of the MS.

[2] B. has *eo.*

[3] *Galterius*, B.S.; *Gauterius*, C.; *Galterus*, D.

[4] C. has *usurpare.*

[5] *Andelaicus*, C.S.; *Andeliacus*, B.D.

[6] *et*, B.D.S.; *quæ*, C.

[7] In plummet in the margin of C.

A.D. 1197. pontifice antiquum ecclesiæ suæ patrimonium hoc modo sibi præripi [1] æquanimiter non ferente: Francis vero videntibus et irascentibus, et contra opus æmulum, quod impedire non poterant, frustra frementibus. Eundem autem archiepiscopum princeps postmodum digna compensatione placavit, vicum scilicet litigiosum famoso illo vico maritimo qui Depa dicitur ecclesiæ Rothomagensi commutans.[2] Quo facto, quanto meliori conscientia, tanto et hilariori fiducia et ferventiori studio operi deinceps inchoato insistens, quantum ex hoc muniminis propriis in reliquum finibus præparavit, tantum etiam ex hoc ipso hostilem ferociam exulceravit.

The archbishop agreed to receive the town of Dieppe in exchange.

A.D. 1198. Sane in loco illo, cum magna illa ædificatio fieret, rem prodigiosam contigisse ferunt. Nam sicut quidam non ignobiles, qui se interfuisse asserunt, protestantur, mense Maio paulo ante Dominicæ Ascensionis sollemnia,[3] cum rex adesset et opus urgeret, nam sæpius ad disponendum urgendumque opus aderat, et conspectum proficientis operis pro magna voluptate habebat, repente imber sanguine mixtus descendit, stupentibus cum ipso rege cunctis qui aderant: cum et in suis vestibus veri sanguinis guttas conspicerent, et rem tam insolitam malum portendere formidarent. Verum ex hoc idem rex [4] non est territus, quo minus operi promovendo intenderet, in quo sibi, ni fallor, ita complacebat, ut etiam si angelus de cœlo id [5] omittendum suaderet, anathema illi esset.

A portent observed at Andely.

A little before May 7, while the king was directing the operations of the builders there was a shower of blood.

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[1] B. has *præcipi.*

[2] Diceto (ii. 153–6) gives the agreement, which, however, is dated Oct. 16, 1196, but that this is an error for 1197 is clear from the fact that it was given under the hand of Eustace, *bishop elect of Ely.* See also Hoveden, iv. pp. 16–19.

[3] This happened, according to Diceto (ii. 162), on May 8, 1198. The continuation of Florence of Worcester (ii. 163) also assigns it to 1198. On the other hand, Newburgh's date, "*paulo ante Ascen-*" *sionis sollemnia,*" agrees with the Ascension Day of 1197 (May 15th), but not with the same day in 1198, when it fell on May 7.

[4] C. has *ex hoc rex hoc idem.*

[5] B. has *id est.*

CONTINUATIO

CHRONICI WILLELMI DE NOVOBURGO

AD ANNUM 1298.

CONTINUATIO

CHRONICI WILLELMI DE NOVOBURGO

AD ANNUM 1298.[1]

[CAP. XXXV.]

Finitis induciis inclitus rex Ricardus in obsidione castelli de Caliz, quod Widomarius vicecomes de Lymoges per homines suos tenuit, a quodam qui fuit in castello, nomine Bertramo de Gurdun, sagitta letaliter vulneratur. Cum autem de vita desperaret, rex dimisit Johanni fratri suo regimen Angliæ, et omnes alias terras suas; et fecit fieri prædicto Johanni fidelitates ab illis qui aderant, et præcepit quod traderentur illi castella sua. Ottoni vero nepoti suo tres partes thesauri sui [2] et baubella sua delegavit, et quartam partem thesauri sui præcepit servientibus suis et pauperibus erogari. Deinde vocato coram rege præfato Bertramo, dixit ei rex, "Quid tibi male feci? Quare me "interemisti?" Cui ille audacter et quasi intrepidus respondit, "Tu interemisti patrem meum et duos fratres "meos manu tua, et nunc me interimere voluisti. Sume "ergo de me vindictam qualemcunque excogitaveris, quo- "niam non est mihi curæ dummodo interficiaris, quia "tot et tanta mundo intulisti." Tunc præcepit rex eum dimitti liberum abire, et dari ei centum solidos sterlingo-

Richard besieging Chaluz is wounded by an arrow.

Hoveden, iv. 83.

His disposition of his kingdom and personal property.

His slayer, Bertram de Gurdun, is brought before him.

[1] From MS. Cott. Cleop. A. I.

[2] An erroneous excerpt. Hoveden says that he bequeathed the *tres partes* to John, the *baubella* to Otho.

A.D. 1199. rum, dicens, "Remitto tibi mortem meam." Sed Mercadeus ructarius,[1] nesciente rege, apprehendit eum et tenuit, et post obitum regis excoriatum suspendit. Hoveden, iv. 84.

Death of King Richard, April 6.

Obiit autem Ricardus rex anno a partu Virginis millesimo centesimo nonagesimo nono, anno regni sui decimo, viij° Idus Aprilis, feria tertia ante dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, undecimo die postquam vulneratus fuerat; et sepultus est ad pedes patris sui in loco qui dicitur Fons Ebraudi: de cujus morte quidam sic ait:—

Istius morte perimit fortuna Leonem.[2]
Proh dolor, in tanto funere mundus obit!

De Johanne rege Angliæ.

Capitulum I.

Prince John is invested as Duke of Normandy, April 25.

Defuncto rege Ricardo, Johannes frater ejus dominica proxima sequente Pascha Domini, videlicet vij°. Kalendas Maii, in festo sancti Marci Evangelistæ, apud Rothomagum accinctus est gladio ducatus Normanniæ in matrici ecclesia, per manus Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, Præfatus etiam archiepiscopus posuit in capite ducis circulum aureum habentem in summitate per circulum rosas aureas. Johannes quidem coram clero et populo juravit super reliquias sanctorum et super sacrosanctum evangelium, quod secundum ecclesiæ formam dignitates illius bona fide et sine malo ingenio servaret illæsas, et rectam justitiam exerceret, et leges iniquas destrueret. Hoveden, iv. 87.

The nobles of Anjou, &c adhere to Arthur.

Interim principes[3] Andegaviæ,[4] Cinomanniæ, et Thuroniæ adhæserunt Arturo comiti Britanniæ, tanquam ligio domino suo et heredi. Hoveden, iv. 86.

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[1] So in MS. for *rutarius*.

[2] In Hoveden (iv. 84) the line is scarcely better:—

In hujus morte perimit formica Leonem.

[3] *princeps*, MS.

[4] *Antegaviæ*, MS.

[CAP.] II.

Hoveden, iv. 89. Deinde Johannes dux Normanniæ in vigilia Ascensionis venit Lundonias. Congregatis igitur ibidem in adventu suo, una cum Huberto Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, omnibus magnatibus totius Angliæ, tam episcopis quam comitibus et baronibus, consecratus est ibidem et coronatus præfatus Johannes dux Normanniæ in regem Angliæ in ecclesia sancti Petri apud Westmonasterium die Ascensionis Domini, quinto[1] kalendas Junii, feria v. A.D. 1199. John enters London, May 26. His coronation, May 27 (26). Hoveden, iv. 90.

Johannes rex statuit, quod nullum tonellum vini Pictavensis venderetur carius quam pro viginti solidis, et nullum tonellum[2] vini Andegavensis carius quam viginti iiij. solidis, vel pro duabus marcis ad amplius. Præterea statuit, quod nullum sextarium vini Pictavensis venderetur carius quam pro iiij. denariis, et nullum sextarium vini albi carius quam vj. denariis. Sed hæc assisa parvo tempore duravit, quia mercatores hanc assisam sustinere non potuerunt, et data est [eis][3] licentia vendendi de vino rubeo sextarium pro vj. denariis et de vino albo pro octo denariis. Et sic repleta est terra potu et potatoribus. Hoveden, iv. 99. An assize of wines.

[CAP.] III.

Anno a partu Virginis M°CC°, colloquio habito inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ in octabis sancti Johannis Baptistæ,[4] rex Franciæ reddidit Johanni regi Angliæ civitatem Ebroicum, et totum comitatum, et omnia castella et civitates et prædia, quæ occupaverat per werram super regem Ricardum et super illum. Et Johannes rex statim inde devenit homo regis Franciæ, et in continenti dedit universa illa Lodovico filio prædicti regis Franciæ in maritagium cum Blanchia filia regis Castellæ, nepte sua ex A.D. 1200. Meeting and arrangements between John and Philip [May 22]. Hoveden, iv. 114, 115.

[1] Should of course be *sexto*, as in Hoveden and in the Stanley chronicle.

[2] *tonellum*, repeated.

[3] From the omission of *eis* it would seem probable that these extracts from Hoveden were taken either from MS. Claudius B. 7 or the Trin. Coll. Cambridge MS.

[4] Hoveden has discordant dates, the *first* of which is here given. See reasons stated in Rolls Ed. (iv. p. 114, note 6), for assigning May 22 as the date.

A.D. 1200. sorore, et in crastino desponsavit eam præfatus Lodovicus, et duxit eam secum in Galliam.

Arthur does homage to John for his possessions, but remains in the keeping of the king of France.

Arturus dux Britanniæ, ut dicitur, in præsentia regis Franciæ ibidem devenit [homo][1] regis de Britannia et de aliis terris suis de consensu et voluntate regis Franciæ; sed, de contradictione[2] regis Johannis, remansit in custodia regis Francorum. Hoveden, iv. 115.

[Cap.] IV.

John is divorced from Hawisia of Gloucester. He marries Isabella of Angoulême.

Eodem anno factum est divortium inter Johannem regem et Hauuisam filiam Willelmi comitis de[3] Glovernia, eo quod fuerunt affines in tertio gradu consanguinitatis. Hoveden, iv. 119. Rex Johannes de consilio regis Franciæ duxit in uxorem Isabellam, filiam Almari comitis de Ongolismo, quam Hugo de Brun comes de Machia[4] cepit prius per verba de præsenti et ipsa eum; sed, quia ipsa nondum annos nubiles attigerat, noluit prædictus Hugo eam in facie ecclesiæ sibi copulari. Et Deo annuente facta est pax et finalis concordia inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ.[5] Hoveden, iv. 148.

A.D. 1201.

Anno M°CC°I°.[6]

Anno M°CC°II°.[7]

A.D. 1202. On July 6 Fulk Fitz-Warren

Fulco filius Warini fugit ij° Nonas Julii in Abbatiam de[8] Stanleye in Wiltescira, et ibi obsessus est

[1] Wanted to complete the sense.

[2] Hoveden's word is *traditione*.

[3] A new hand begins at the top of a page and continues to the end of F. The word *de* is repeated from the bottom of the previous page.

[4] Hugh le Brun, count of La Marche.

[5] The passage in S. (the Stanley Abbey Chronicle) immediately preceding the point at which the Furness chronicler begins to copy is as follows:—"MCC. *Johannes rex* "*dimisit uxorem suam, scilicet* "*filiam Roberti comitis Gloverniæ,* "*et aliam duxit et coronari fecit* "*in reginam, videlicet filiam comitis* "*Engolismi, Elizabeth nomine.* "*Hoc anno obiit Hugo episcopus* "*Lincolniensis* xij. *kalendas De-* "*cembris.*"

[6] No events are recorded, although the date is inserted both in S. and F.

[7] The Stanley Abbey Chronicle (MS. Bodl., Digby 11) is systematically copied from this point almost to its finish. The point at which the Furness writer begins to amplify so much as to become virtually an original chronicler will be noted later.

[8] S. omits *de*.

cum sociis suis fere ab omni provincia et a multis aliis, qui illuc convenerant, xiiij. diebus. Sed in pace ecclesiæ salvus exivit, et reconciliatus est in anno sequenti.

A.D. 1202. — takes refuge in Stanley Abbey.

Obiit Radulfus filius Stephani in die sancti Jacobi Apostoli[1].

Death of Ralph Fitz-Stephen, July 25.

Eodem[2] anno obsessa est Alienor regina, mater Johannis regis, in castello quod dicitur Mirabell a Gaufrido de Lezman et Hugone cognomento le Brun, coadunata[3] multa et electa manu militum. In quorum auxilium misit rex Franciæ Arthurum filium comitis Britanniæ cum grandi exercitu. Quod audiens Johannes rex Angliæ in Normannia constitutus de nocte consurgens, et concito cursu illuc adveniens insperatus, circumfuso exercitu factaque congressione, solvit obsidionem.[4] Vi igitur occupans castellum, præmisso trino conflictu, in quo rex ipse strenuissime agens, cooperante Dei gratia, hostes universos comprehendit cum cc^tis lxvij militibus, quorum multos in Angliam incarcerandos[5] misit. Quo audito rex Franciæ [ab] obsidione de Arches recessit.

Queen Eleanor besieged in the castle of Mirabel.

Annales de Waverleia, p. 254.

ANNO M°CC°III°.

A.D. 1203. —

Obiit regina Alienor.[6]

Death of Queen Eleanor (1204).

ANNO M°CC°IIII°.[7]

A.D. 1204. —

Hoc anno circa Pentecosten venit conventus novus cum proprio abbate de Cisterciis in Angliam ad locum qui vocatur Belli-locus,[8] quem eis dedit Johannes rex Angliæ cum aliis terris magnis.

Beaulieu Abbey founded by John.

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[1] *Apostoli*, om. F.

[2] S. omits from *eodem* to *de Arches recessit*—the entire quotation from the Waverley Annals.

[3] *coaduna*, MS.

[4] *absidionem*, MS., and *absidione* below.

[5] *inqa ꝛandos*, MS.

[6] She died in 1204, *Ann. Wav.*, 256. R. Coggeshall, 144.

[7] S. inserts no date here, and thus leaves the events under the previous date, 1203. This is an obvious error, as Normandy was lost in 1204.

[8] Thus for *Bellus-locus*, Beaulieu.

A.D. 1204. Eodem anno rex Francorum Philippus subjugavit sibi fere[1] totam Normanniam, nullo sibi penitus contradicente.

Loss of Normandy.

A community of monks sent from Stanley Abbey to Ireland, July 23.

Hoc eodem[2] anno electus est conventus novus in Stanleya in[3] Wiltescira cum abbate proprio, scilicet venerabili viro Radulfo,[4] x. kalendas Augusti, et in Hyberniam missus in provinciam Ostricensem[5] ad locum qui vocatur[6] Sancti Salvatoris, quem dedit eis bonæ memoriæ vir Willelmus Marescallus[7] comes de Penbruc cum aliis terris plurimis.

[Exivit etiam hoc anno conventus novus de Wburne ad villam quæ vocatur Medmeham super Tamisiam. Eodem anno depositus est dominus N[icholaus] abbas Stanleyæ a capitulo Cistercii, eo quod duxit conventum in Hyberniam absque licentia capituli. Eodem anno revocatus est conventus de Medmeham, et abbas de Wuburn depositus est propter eandem causam.] [Stanley Chronicle only.]

A.D. 1205.

Anno M°CC°V°.

Petrus de la Roche factus est episcopus Wintoniæ.

Death of archbishop Hubert.

Obiit piæ memoriæ dominus[8] Hubertus Watier[9] archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.

[Dominus Thomas de Calestune, prior de Stanlega, factus est abbas ejusdem loci. Nicholaus quondam abbas de Stanlega factus est abbas de Bucfestre.[10] Dominus Willelmus, abbas de Quarraria,[11] dimisit abbatiam suam coram abbate Savigniæ in capitulo apud Stanlegam.] [Stanley Chronicle only.]

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[1] *fere*, om. F.

[2] *Hoc eodem*, S.; *eodem*, F.

[3] *in*, om. F.

[4] *Radulfo*, S.; *Radulpho*, F. This variation recurs, and will not be noticed further.

[5] *Ostricensis*, MSS.

[6] *vocatur*, S.; *dicitur*, F.

[7] *Marscallus*, S.

[8] *piæ memoriæ dominus*, om. F.

[9] *Wat*, in F.

[10] Buckfestre, or Buckfastleigh Abbey, Devon.

[11] Quarr Abbey, in the Isle of Wight.

ANNO M°CC°VI°. A.D. 1206.

Obiit Willelmus Blesensis episcopus Lincolniæ. Jocelinus quidam clericus factus est episcopus Bathoniæ.

ANNO M°CC°VII. A.D. 1207.

Johannes rex Angliæ extorsit omnem tertiam[1] decimam partem mobilium et catallorum de tota Anglia, scilicet de episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, canonicis, clericis, laicis, divitibus, et de omni populo simul. Quietus tamen fuit ab hac exactione ordo Cisterciensis. Hoc[2] anno apud Romam electus est magister Stephanus de Langetune Anglicus ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ, vir venerabilis et bonæ famæ, cardinalisque Romanæ ecclesiæ de sancto Grisogono,[3] et sacratus a domino Apostolico in die sanctæ Trinitatis, qui fuit illo anno xv. kalendas Julii. Unde indignatus rex in iram[4] conversus expulit omnes monachos sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ, et in exsilium trusit, præter omnino debiles et ægrotos, qui non poterant exire, scilicet ix vel x, et ecclesiam illam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis [occupavit],[5] et tradidit in manus[6] laicorum.

John extorts a thirteenth from clergy and laity.

Election of Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury.

His consecration, June 17.

Expulsion of the monks of the Holy Trinity, Canterbury.

ANNO M°CC°VIII°. A.D. 1208.

Interdicta est universa Anglia [et][7] Wallia ab "*Isti sunt dies*," scilicet, a x. kalendas Martii,[8] propter regem Angliæ Johannem, qui noluit recipere

The Interdict, March 23.

[1] A blank space, as though one word were omitted, F.; *tercimam* (sic) *decimam*, S.

[2] *Hoc*, S.; *eodem*, F.

[3] *Grisogono*, MSS., for *Chrysogono*.

[4] *ira*, MSS.

[5] Required to complete the sense.

[6] S. has *manibus*.

[7] *et* not in MSS.

[8] This should be *Aprilis*. The name of the introit gives 23 March (Passion Sunday), which is the true date. The year at this part of the chronicle seems to begin at Christmas.

A.D. 1208. supradictum archiepiscopum, et propter expulsionem monachorum de ecclesia sanctæ Trinitatis.

William de Braose driven from the kingdom.

Willelmus de Brause[1] exheredatus est de omnibus terris et redditibus suis, quas habuit in Anglia et in Wallia. Qui fugit etiam[2] a facie regis Angliæ cum omni domo sua in Hiberniam.

A.D. 1209.

ANNO M°CC°IX°.

Hugh of Wells is made bishop of Lincoln.

Hugo archidiaconus Wellensis[3] factus est episcopus Lincolniensis.

Otho of Saxony elected emperor.

Otho de Saxonia, nepos regis Johannis Angliæ, creatus est imperator Alemanniæ, procurante et auxiliante ei in omnibus domino Apostolico Innocentio, qui et illum benedixit et coronavit apud Romam.

A.D. 1210.

ANNO M°CC°X°.

Quarrel between the emperor and the pope.

Orta est discordia inter dominum Apostolicum Innocentium et Othonem[4] imperatorem, qui retribuit mala pro bonis.

John summons all the Cistercian abbots to York, and demands money from them.

The reply of the abbots.

Johannes rex Angliæ multa mala operatus est contra sanctam ecclesiam in regione sua: qui etiam[5] convocavit omnes abbates ordinis Cistercii, qui erant in Anglia, apud Eboracum. Qui, cum venissent die nominato coram ipso, postulavit auxilium, scilicet ut pecuniam illi darent, a qua adjutus posset terram suam recuperare ac defendere. At illi omnes una voce responderunt, se pecuniam non habere in propria potestate, nec velle habere, sed custodes et dispensatores se esse eleemosynarum fidelium, quas illi pro salute animarum suarum et omnium antecessorum suorum ac liberorum Deo omnipotenti ac beatæ

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[1] *Branse* in F.

[2] S. inserts *etiam* after *fugit*.

[3] *Wellensis*, S.; *Wallensis*, F. Variously designated Hugh Wallis, or Hugh of Wells.

[4] *Octonem*, F.

[5] *etiam*, om. F.

Virgini Mariæ largiti sunt in usus monachorum et religiosorum, pauperumque ac debilium, pupillorum et orphanorum atque viduarum, et non in redditus regum vel stipendia militum. Unde rex in iram magnam et furorem conversus præcepit, ut omnes cartæ illorum ac libertates ab antecessoribus suis illis datas vel concessas in irritum haberentur, et quicunque vellet illis malum vel injuriam facere impune faceret. Unde plurimi eorum gravati sunt et angariati et afflicti. Præcepit etiam per literas suas vicecomitibus suis et justiciariis et forestariis, ut nullus eorum aliquod rectum vel justitiam illis teneret, ipse quoque per se et per alios bona eorum et pasturas ac terras, et ligna de forestis suis ad coquendos cibos illorum, et omnia alia aisiamenta, quæ pater illius eis dedit et carta sua confirmavit, illis abstulit.

A.D. 1210.

John deprives them of the protection of the law, and takes away their privileges.

Post hæc adunavit exercitum suum et transfretavit in Hiberniam, ubi pro voluntate sua omnia prospera evenerunt. Nam Walterus de Laci[1] se et sua omnia ei reddidit, quod illum[2] postea pœnituit, quia illum prædictus rex abjurare omnia tenementa et terras et redditus, quas habebat in Hybernia, fecit, ipsumque postea et omnes suos de Anglia depulit. Hugonem vero[3] de Laci,[4] fratrem prædicti[5] Walteri, fugavit: insulam Man destruxit:[6] uxorem Willelmi de Brause[7] cum Willelmo filio et herede illorum, cum uxore sua et parvulo filio, cepit et in vinculis tenuit: uxorem vero Willelmi senioris, scilicet Matildem de Sancto Walerico[8] cum filio, apud castrum de Windlesores

John crosses to Ireland with an army.

He exiles Walter and Hugh de Lacy.

Ravages the Isle of Man.

His cruel treatment of the family of William de Braose.

[1] De Laci se, &c. read out to a careless scribe would appear in writing as *de Lay se*, as in F.

[2] *illi*, F.S.

[3] *vero*, om. F.

[4] *Laci*, S.; *Lay͂*, F.

[5] *prædicti*, S.; *dicti*, F.

[6] The Chronicle of Man (Cott. Jul. A. vii.) confirms the date, saying that a party under Fulco ravaged the island for 15 days.

[7] See *Fœdera*, i. p. 107.

[8] The *Ann. Wav.*, p. 265, call her Matilda de la Haie, but agree as to date of her death. The *Ann. de Margan* agree with the text as regards her name.

A.D. 1210. fame et miseria peremit. Archiepiscopatus [et][1] episcopatus omnes, exceptis episcopatibus[2] Wintoniensi et Norwicensi, in manu sua tenuit, et abbatias nigras plures. Postquam rediit de Hybernia omnes abbatias ordinis Cistercii, quæ in terra sua erant, oppressit absque ulla misericordia, jussitque[3] ut pecuniam darent, alii plus alii minus, secundum voluntatem suam. et instinctu cujusdam clerici impii et iniqui, ut dicebatur, scilicet[4] Ricardi del[5] Mareis,[6] quem etiam deum suum nominare ante viros religiosos et seculares non timuit. Pecunia autem compacta fuit plusquam xxx millia marcarum ut ferebatur: unde plurimæ abbatiæ destructæ sunt, et monachi atque conversi per totam provinciam dispersi sunt per civitates per[7] castella et villas, et in abbatiis nigris vel albis qui potuerunt, et cum canonicis regularibus sive secularibus vel sanctimonialibus[8] victualia postulantes. Judæos omnes miserabiliter tractavit, et omnia bona eorum abstulit, et plures diversis mortibus interemit. Abbatias nigras et prioratus, tam de monachis quam canonicis et sanctimonialibus, omnes fiscavit. De ecclesiis etiam parochianis et capellis[9] omnem tertiam partem redditus extorsit.

Seizure of ecclesiastical revenues.

The Cistercians oppressed at the instigation of Richard Marsh.

John's open blasphemy.

He robs the Jews.

ANNO M°CC°XI°.

A.D. 1211. Rex Johannes duxit exercitum suum[10] in Walliam.[11] Sed parum fecit de voluntate sua. Qui retraxit manum, ut iterum multiplicatus et vallatus et robor-

Expedition against the Welsh.

[1] *et* not in F. or S.

[2] *excepto episcopatu* in MSS.

[3] *jussique*, S.

[4] *scilicet*, om. F.

[5] *del*, S.; *de*, F.

[6] Ricardus de Marisco. He was bishop of Durham 1217–1226. The Annals of Dunstable (p. 40) say that he was suspended and sent to Rome in 1212 for administering to the king during the interdict. See also Matth. Paris, ii. 531, &c.

[7] *per*, S.; *et*, F.

[8] F. has *secularibus sive regalibus vel sanctis monialibus*.

[9] *et capellis*, S.; *ac capellanis*, F.

[10] *suum*, om. S.

[11] *Wallia*, in F. and S.

atus fortitudine militum [procederet].[1] Accessit ad eos, et circumvenit, ita ut ascenderet, montem qui vocatur Snaudoun.[2] Accepit homagium Lewelini[3] et aliorum multorum, et obsides multos et terras magnas, ubi castella plura firmavit cum custodibus, et ita reversus est. A.D. 1211.

ANNO M°CC°XII°

A.D. 1212.

The Welsh rebel.

Hoc anno repugnaverunt Wallenses[4] omnes, et jugum regis Angliæ projecerunt,[5] et omnia castella, quæ rex fecerat præterito anno, in possessionem eorum ceperunt, fregerunt, et combusserunt. Unde rex Johannes iratus occidit obsides eorum. Qui etiam[6] convocavit omnem exercitum suum, ut eos fortiter debellaret.

John again vexes the Cistercians.

Ordinem quoque Cistertiensem iterum valde afflixit pro voluntate sua, scilicet ut servientes sibi scriberentur a vicecomite, et manutenerent[7] ad judicium regis si quis adversus[8] eos haberet querelam. Iterum jussit ut[9] unaquæque[10] abbatia præpararet[11] sibi carectam longam cum quinque equis optimis. Quibusdam vero de magnis abbatiis præcepit, ut duas carectas præpararent cum x. equis ad servitium suum cum pertinentiis suis vel[12] utensilibus. Itaque cum omnia parata essent,[13] et exercitus magnus valde et fortis appropinquaret ad locum pugnæ, et rex ipse esset apud Snotingeham,[14] subito exivit rumor verus an falsus, quod homines regis illum vellent tradere in manus inimicorum,[15] unde rex valde exterritus se

John hearing of a conspiracy, shuts himself up in Nottingham and disperses his army.

[1] Apparently wanted to complete the sense of this passage.

[2] *Snaudune*, S.

[3] *Neulini*, S.

[4] *Walenses*, S.

[5] *projecerunt*, S.; *perceperunt*, F.

[6] *etiam*, S.; *et*, F.

[7] This sentence is not intelligible. Perhaps *manutenerentur* is intended.

[8] *adversus*, S.; *versus*, F.

[9] *item jussit in*, F.

[10] *unaquaque*, MSS.

[11] *præparare*, F.

[12] *suis vel*, S.; *et*, F.

[13] *essent*, F.; *erant*, S.

[14] *Notingham*, F.

[15] Letters came to him from the king of Scots and his own daughter, wife of Llewellyn. Wendover, iii. 239.

A.D. 1212. clausit in munitione apud Snotingeham[1] diebus plurimis. Præcepit autem ut omnis exercitus reverteretur unusquisque in patriam suam.

A.D. 1213.

Anno M°CC°X°III°.

Peter of Pontefract prophecies against the king.

Hoc anno[2] fuit quidam vir, Petrus nomine, de Pontefracto, qui multa prædixit, quæ postea probata sunt esse vera. Hic venit ad regem Johannem in sermone Domini dicens, "Dico tibi quia[3] non eris rex "ultra diem Ascensionis Domini, nisi te emendaveris, "et satisfeceris ecclesiæ sanctæ, quam expugnas et "destruis." Quem rex capi fecit, et posuit in custodia. Circa Pascha exivit rumor per Angliam quod rex Francorum præpararet se, ut veniret in Angliam. Quem rex Angliæ nimis expavit et[4] extimuit, sed tamen consilio suorum præparavit se ad resistendum: unde factum est ut summonere faceret omnes qui illi servitium deberent, et possent arma ferre.[5] Sub nomine Culvert[6] congregati sunt ergo omnes, exercitus magnus valde et fortis, comites et barones, milites et rustici, senes et juvenes, fereque omnis populus simul. Qui dispositi sunt circa littus maris[7] exspectantes adventum adversariorum. Rex autem Francorum detentus est a comite Flandrorum.[8] Comes vero[9] Salesburiensis[10] audiens regem Francorum esse detentum, et navigium suum[11] circa littus maris ex alia parte exspectantem sine magna custodia, transfretavit cum viris electis, et valida manu cepit[12] plures naves magnas oneratas armis et victualibus,

About April 14 a report spreads that the French are preparing to invade England.

John assembles an army and posts his men round the sea coast.

The earl of Salisbury destroys the French fleet.

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[1] *Notingham*, F.

[2] Wendover places the prophecy under 1212. Coggeshall (p. 167) says that Peter was hanged in 1213.

[3] *quia*, F.S. (see vol. i. p. 76, note 2).

[4] *et*, om. S.

[5] *ferre*, S.; *deferre*, F.

[6] *Calvert*, F. "Culvertagium." Supposed to be equivalent to "nithing." See Matth. Paris *sub ann.* 1089, and Wendover, iii. 243, 245.

[7] *maris*, om. F.

[8] *Flandorum* (sic), S.

[9] *vero*, F.; *autem*, S.

[10] F. has *Malesburiensis*.

[11] *suum*, F.; *ejus*, S.

[12] *cepit*, S.; *cepitque*, F.

A.D. 1213.

et plures de custodibus occidit, et sic reversus est. Rex autem Johannes gavisus est.[1]

John dreads the fulfilment of the prophecy on May 23.

Cum autem appropinquaret dies Ascensionis Domini, expavit rex Johannes vehementer mortem. Putavit enim propter verbum[2] prophetæ sui, quod demones venturi essent rapere illum et ducere[3] secum, vel rex Francorum veniret cito per mandatum domini papæ ad destruendum illum et regnum illius invadere: unde coactus est timore Dei vel humano, coram nuntiis domini papæ et comitibus et[4] baronibus, jurare pacem sanctæ ecclesiæ, restaurationem ablatorum omnium pro voluntate domini papæ: et semetipsum deposuit, et coronam regni tradidit in manus Romanorum, ita tamen ut regnum Anglorum[5] teneret de domino Apostolico, reddendo inde[6] annuatim mille marcas argenti.

He surrenders his crown into the hands of the pope.

Stephen Langton and the bishops are asked to return.

Tunc missum est pro domino S[tephano] archiepiscopo Cantuariensi[7] et aliis episcopis, qui in exsilio erant, et redditi sunt illis[8] episcopatus eorum sine restauratione ablatorum.

The date fixed by the prophet passes, and John repents of his concessions.

Rex autem ut vidit quod[9] dies Ascensionis Domini[10] jam præterisset, et se nihil mali pertulisse, pœnituit se talia promisisse; sed comites et barones, qui cum ipso vel pro ipso juraverunt, noluerunt ei consentire; sed firmiter cum ecclesia et pro ecclesia steterunt,[11] dicentes se cum illo nullo modo tenere si vellet amplius in malitia sua contra Deum vivere. At ille in iram et furorem[12] conversus jussit, ut propheta illius[13] occideretur. Qui suspensus apud Waram cum filio mortuus est.

Peter of Pontefract and his son are hanged at Wareham.

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1 The date of this victory is uncertain. This chronicle seems to place it between April 14 and May 23 (Ascension Day).

2 *verba*, S.

3 Both MSS. have *ducerent*.

4 *et*, om. S.

5 *Anglorum*, om. F.

6 *inde*, om. S.

7 *Cantuariensi*, S.; om. F.

8 *illis*, S.; om. F.

9 *quod*, F.; *quia*, S.

10 *Domini*, om. F.

11 In F. this passage runs, *pro ecclesia vel cum ecclesia fecerunt*.

12 *ira et furore*, MSS. Also on p. 511, l. 4.

13 Thus in MSS. Cf. expression *propheta sui* above.

A.D. 1213. Eodem anno venit in Angliam Nicholaus,[1] legatus summi pontificis, missus ad reformandam pacem ecclesiæ.

Death of Geoffrey FitzPeter, the justiciary.

Obiit G[aufridus] filius Petri, justiciarius Angliæ.[2] Cui successit [3] Petrus de Rupe episcopus Wintoniæ.

A.D. 1214.

Anno M°CC°X°IIII°.

Hoc anno Johannes rex adunavit exercitum suum cum infinito thesauro, et transfretavit contra regem Francorum, si posset aliquo modo revocare terram suam, quam ei abstulerat. Separavit itaque rex Angliæ tres comites exercitus sui et cum eis exercitum magnum et fortem, ut debellarent [4] supradictum regem ex una parte. Ipse vero ex altera [5] parte erat cum infinita multitudine. Comites autem elatione decepti putaverunt se aliquid fortiter acturos, [et] [6] invaserunt exercitum regis Francorum in die dominica, scilicet in die sanctæ [7] Margaretæ virginis.[8] Cumque rex et omnis exercitus essent [9] in oratione constituti, et in missis audiendis fuissent occupati, audierunt subito clamorem utriusque exercitus. Qui statim accipientes arma sua contra eos viriliter venerunt. Dominus autem, qui novit superbos humiliare, et confidentes in audacia sua et in propria virtute ad nihilum deducere, tradidit illos tres comites in manus [10] regis Francorum cum omni exercitu suo et capti sunt omnes, ita ut inter primam et nonam sedata esset omnis illa perturbatio, et facta est tranquillitas magna, et mirati sunt universi. Ferebatur quoque, quod Otho [11] imperator supervenit cum ducentis

The battle of Bouvines, July 20?

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[1] Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum.

[2] F. omits *Angliæ*.

[3] *Successit* written in plummet in the margin of F.

[4] *debellaret*, MSS.

[5] S. reads *alia*.

[6] *et*, not in F. or S., but apparently needed.

[7] *Sanctæ* repeated in F.

[8] The date should be July 27.

[9] *essent*, om. F.

[10] *manibus* in both MSS.

[11] *cho*, F. with alteration, perhaps recent.

militibus, ut videret exercitum regis Galliæ,[1] ignorans quod factum esset, mox vero, ut cognovit et didicit, retraxit se cum tristitia magna[2] dicens, "Heu, cur tam cito et[3] velociter periit flos militiæ!" A.D. 1214.

Rex autem Angliæ, ut hæc audivit, contristatus est valde, recessitque ab eo omne consilium, et venit super eum timor et tremor et hebetudo mentis, nihilque amplius[4] ausus fuit rebellare[5] contra regem Galliæ. Unum tamen hominem cepit, Robertum comitem de Drus, cognatum regis Galliæ, et secum adduxit, pro quo postea comes Salesbiriæ dimissus est a captivitate sua. Et ita, acceptis induciis v. annorum per internuntios, reversus est[6] in Angliam.

John in despair seeks a truce for five years, and returns to England.

[Stanley Chronicle only.]

[Hoc anno perfectus est aquæductus de Lokeswelle versus abbatiam de Stanlegam in Wiltescira a dono Thomæ de Calestune, abbatis[7] ejusdem domus. Qui illud opus timide incepit, sed Deo et Domino Jesu Christo sibi auxiliante et beato Johanne evangelista, bene et optime complevit. Cujus memoria in benedictione sit in æternum. Amen.]

Eodem[8] anno cessavit interdictum, et pax ecclesiæ Anglicanæ utique[9] reddita est circa octabas Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

The interdict is raised about July 6.

Anno M°CC°X°V°[10].

A.D. 1215.

Hoc anno convenerunt in unum archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites, barones, milites, omnisque populus simul querimoniam facientes, quod omnia jura regni

Magna Carta.

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[1] Faintly corrected in plummet from *Galli*, F.

[2] *magna*, in S. only.

[3] S. omits *cito et*.

[4] *amplius* in S. only.

[5] *rebellare*, F.; *revelare*, S.

[6] *internuntios, reversus est*, S.; *intermineos reversus*, F.

[7] *a dono Thomæ de Calestune abbate*, &c. in MS.

[8] *Eodem*, F.; *hoc*, S.

[9] *utique*, in margin very faintly written in plummet, F. — a blank space in the text; *utcunque*, S.

[10] Date imperfect in F.—by erasure.

A.D.1215 consuetudinesque bonæ, quæ solebant esse antiquitus, perverterentur propter duritiam regis et crudelitatem alienorum perversorum hominum, quos rex amavit et constituit magistros et judices et vicecomites et custodes castrorum suorum, parvipendens omnes naturales et liberos homines terræ suæ. Igitur convenerunt rogantes regem, ut carta sua illis confirmaret jura ecclesiæ et libertates suas, pacemque sicut fuit in diebus antiquorum regum bonorum, sicut ille promisit et juravit, et alii cum eo vel pro eo apud Rin super littus maris, quando exspectavit adventum regis Francorum, sicut superius dictum est. At ille diu dissimulavit hoc facere. Archiepiscopus Cantuariæ S[tephanus] cum episcopis Angliæ vij., qui tunc erant cum comitibus et baronibus, et Londonienses, qui intellexerunt dolositatem ejus et fictitiam, retraxerunt se ab eo, et jam cum illo non fuerunt sicut esse solebant. Unde factum est quod rex expavit[1] eos, extimuit[2] valde, occultavitque se ab eis. Tandem audito consilio quorundam suorum, ut dicebatur, munivit se signaculo sanctæ crucis, magis timore quam amore Christi, nam sicut postmodum apparuit, nullam reverentiam Deo vel sanctæ ecclesiæ vel populo Anglicano in mente habuit: sed in destructionem illorum se et suos præparavit. Annuit tamen in dolo ut carta scriberetur, et confirmaretur. Quæ sic incipit:—[3]

Extracts from Magna Carta.

"Johannes Dei gratia etc. . . . .[4] Sciatis nos intuitu "Dei et pro salute animæ nostræ et omnium ante- "cessorum et heredum nostrorum, ad honorem Dei et "exaltationem sanctæ ecclesiæ et emendationem regni "nostri, per consilium venerabilium patrum nostrorum"

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[1] *pavit*, corrected in plummet to *expavit*, F.

[2] *extimuit*, S.; *et timuit*, F. The same phrase occurs above, p. 514.

[3] These irregular extracts from *Magna Carta*, being mixed up with interjected phrases, cannot conveniently be printed in small type. The passages which are in reasonably strict accord with the received text of the Charter are placed between inverted commas.

[4] There are no indications of omissions in the MS.

S[tephani] Cantuariæ et[1] H[enrici] Divellini[2] archiepiscoporum et ceterorum episcoporum Angliæ, qui tunc ibi fuerunt, id est septem, "et Magistri Pandulfi legati domini "papæ, et fratris Emerici, magistri militiæ Templi in "Anglia, et nobilium virorum Willelmi Marescalli comitis de Penbroc, Willelmi comitis de Salesburi,[3] Willelmi comitis de Warenna . . . . . et aliorum fidelium "nostrorum. In primis concessisse nos Deo et hac "præsenti carta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis et "heredibus nostris inperpetuum, quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, "et libertates suas etc. . . . . . Concessimus etiam[4] "liberis hominibus omnibus regni nostri . . . . . inperpetuum omnes libertates[5] subscriptas, habendas "et tenendas, eis[6] et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris" et cetera plura, et multa quæ omnia justa et discreta et bona et rationabilia probata sunt. A.D. 1215.

Promisit etiam in ipsa carta, quod amoveret "penitus "de ballivis parentes Girardi de Atthiis,[7] quod de "cetero nullam habeant ballivam in Anglia, Ingelardun de Cygoni, Andream, Petrum, [et] Gyonem de "Chanceles"[8] et ceteros omnes. "Amovebimus de regno "alienigenas, milites, balistarios, servientes, stipendiarios, qui venerunt cum equis et armis ad nocumentum regni, etc. . . . . . Data per manum nostram "in prato quod vocatur[9] Runemede[10] inter Windlesores[11] "et Stanes, xv. die Junii anno regni nostri xvij°."

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[1] *et*, S.; om. F.

[2] *Divellini*, F.; *Duvelini*, S.

[3] *Willelmi . . . Salesburi*, om. F.

[4] *etiam*, S.; *et*, F.

[5] In F. this passage has been partly repeated and blundered thus:—"libertates suas, etc. Concessi "mus etiam liberis hominibus om- "nibus regni nostri inperpetuum "omnes libertates subscriptas ha- "bendas et tenendas eas [*sic*] et "heredibus de nobis et heredibus "nostris. Excepta [*sic*] plurima "et multa quæ."

[6] *eas*, F. and S.

[7] *Attihus*, F. The name appears as *Athyes* in the received text of the Charter.

[8] *Chancels*, F.

[9] *vocetur*, F. and S.

[10] *Rounemede*, F.

[11] *Windelesores*, F.

A.D. 1215. Juratum est ex utraque parte ad capitula singula et libertates concessas, sicut[1] præscriptas, fideliter observandas, testibus supradictis magnatibus et aliis multis.

Igitur rex Johannes ita promisit, ut dictum est, in dolo omnia: fecit scilicet cartam scribere, et confirmavit illam[2] sigillo suo, et juravit ipse, et magnates ejus cum illo, ut capitula singula sicut scripta sunt fideliter observarentur. Hæc[3] itaque omnia per omnes comitatus fecit jurare, ut custodirentur[4] fideliter. Sed cito se pœnituit, et retraxit se, dicens, ut nullo modo consentiret, quod xxv. barones essent inter ipsum et populum, qui æquitatem et jura et justitiam manutenerent, et reprehenderent illum si aliter fecisset quam[5] facere deberet. Consenserunt illi plures adulatores, ut dicebatur, scilicet Willelmus Marescallus comes de Penbroc et Willelmus comes Salesburiæ, et Willelmus Briwerre,[6] et multi alii alienigenæ, et milites et[7] balistarii et rutores, qui venerunt cum equis et armis ad nocumentum regni, quos ipse rex promisit expellere de regno. Hos posuit rex in castellis suis, et in munitionibus abscondit, in confusionem et destructionem sanctæ ecclesiæ et universi populi. Nam constituit illis diem in qua deberent exire in unaquaque provincia, unusquisque de loco in quo erant, ut vindicarent illum de adversariis suis.[8] Adversarii autem illius erant omnes qui justitiam et pacem regni volebant et amabant, et ecclesiam sanctam[9] honorabant. Igitur egressi sunt impii, sicut sibi præceptum erat, qui Deum ignorabant, et homines non reverebantur. Deprædati sunt oves et boves et cetera

John repudiates the charter, and is joined by a few nobles.

In lieu of expelling his mercenaries he lets them plunder the kingdom.

[1] *sic*, F.
[2] *illam*, om. F.
[3] *hoc*, F.
[4] *custodirent*, F.
[5] *quam se facere*, F.
[6] *Bruerre*, F.
[7] *et*, om. F.
[8] *suis*, om. F.
[9] *sanctam*, om. F.

animalia sicut illis placuit. Qui noluerunt redimere villas suas ad voluntatem illorum, illas combusserunt et in cineres redegerunt; homines capiebant et traxerunt ad caudas equorum suorum, et posuerunt in pœnis et tormentis et tribulationibus variis et magnis et inauditis, ita ut multos suspenderent, quod dicere pudor est, per genitalia donec deficerent, propter pecuniam, nam multi eorum defecerunt et obierunt antequam ab illis aliquid acciperent, quos mortuos, ut dicebatur, projecerunt in cloacis et in vilissimis locis. Ita [res][1] se habuerunt toto anno et sequenti. Igitur misit rex et vocavit alios multos extra mare et citra et infra, congregavitque exercitum magnum, ut dicebatur, plusquam xv. millia hominum impiorum, qui Deum ignorabant et homines non reverebantur.

A.D. 1215.

The barbarities committed by the king's soldiers.

Adunatis[2] his circumdedit castellum Rofense[3] post festum Sancti Michaelis. Post fame[4] et miseria cepit illud, et multi barones et milites capti sunt, et captivi ducti usque ad castrum de Corf. Deinde post hæc abiit et circuivit totam Angliam usque ad fines Scotiæ,[5] comburendo et devastando et diripiendo universa quæ ad comites et barones pertinebant, nullo sibi resistente vel contradicente, sed[6] præcipue terras Eustachii filii Johannis, quia ipse Eustachius posuit in lecto regis quandam communem mulierem, in loco uxoris suæ, cujus digitum rex confregit, putans illam fuisse uxorem Eustachii; terrasque illorum dedit et[7] distribuit sicut illi placuit.

After Sept. 29 John captures Rochester castle.

He then continues a devastating march as far as the borders of Scotland.

Story respecting the king and the supposed wife of Eustace FitzJohn.

Comites et barones mire patienter sustinuerunt rapinam bonorum suorum, tamen coacti sunt mittere ad

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[1] Apparently required.

[2] *adunatis*, S.; *adjuratis*, F.

[3] *Rofensem*, F.S.

[4] *fames . . . illum*, F.

[5] *Scottæ*, F.

[6] The passage *sed . . . uxorem Eustachii* is not in S. In F. it is awkwardly inserted before instead of after *terrasque . . . placuit*. For the full story see Knighton (Twysden, col. 2422), who warrants it as to Eustace de Vescy.

[7] *et*, om. F.

A.D. 1215. regem Francorum communi consilio postulantes consilium et auxilium: qui compassus est oppressioni eorum nimis, itaque concessit ut filius ejus Lodowicus, si illi placeret, veniret cum illis in Angliam.

Walterus de Gray, qui fuit episcopus Wygorniæ, factus est archiepiscopus[1] Eboracensis in concilio apud Romam.

Lateran Council. The pope excommunicates the barons, Nov. 30.

Eodem anno celebratum est concilium apud Romam[2] Lateranense,[3] præsidente papa Innocentio iij°, a quo lata est sententia excommunicationis super barones adversarios[4] domini regis Johannis[5] die Sancti Andreæ apostoli.

The barons offer the kingdom to Louis, son of the king of France.

Et ipsi barones Lodowicum primogenitum filium Philippi regis Franciæ in regem sibi elegerunt. Et guerra generalis et tam inaudita est, ut patres insurgerent in filios et filii[6] in patres, et perturbatio regni inaudita facta est.

Anno m°cc°x°vi°.

A.D. 1216.

John marches northwards, ravaging the country.

Rex Johannes, iter faciens versus Scociam, sternere fecit castrum de Beauerz[7] et multa alia castra in partibus aquilonis, et in reditu suo cepit castrum de Ingeham[8] et de Colecestre; et galiotæ regis mirabilia fecerunt in mari, et maxima mala.

John returns and proceeds to Canterbury. Cardinal Gualo arrives.

In Pascha post memoratus J[ohannes] rex accessit apud Cantuariam, quoniam multa[9] audiebat de adventu Lodowici. Et interea applicuit Gwales,[10] sedis Apostolicæ legatus. In brevi postea applicuit Lodo-

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1 *episcopus*, F.
2 *Eodem anno . . . Romam*, om. F.
3 *Lateranensi*, F.S.
4 *adversariorum*, F.
5 *Johannis*, om. F.
6 *filii*, S.; *sibi*, F.
7 Perhaps Belvoir is meant.
8 *Ingeham*, S.; *Wigeham*, F. Hedingham is intended. See Coggeshall, p. 180.
9 F. reads *multa mala audiebat*.
10 *Guales*, F.

wicus in insula de Tanet,[1] et sic apud Londoniam veniens die Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri apud Sanctum Paulum a clero et populo civitatis cum processione susceptus est. Eodem die apud Westmonasterium veniens, a conventu illius ecclesiæ non est receptus, et hac occasione et aliis causis mediantibus, ipse Lodowicus et barones Angliæ et Franciæ odium et furorem versus ipsam ecclesiam[2] suscitaverunt, et venientes quidam ex parte Lodowici in dictam ecclesiam, fractis ostiis thesaurariæ domini regis, asportaverunt quicquid in eadem invenerunt.

A.D. 1216.

Louis lands and is received at St. Paul's on June 2. The monks of Westminster refuse to receive him. The treasury is robbed.

Eodem anno circa festum Sanctæ Mildredæ[3] virginis, scilicet mense Julii, obiit papa Innocentius iii^us. Cui successit Honorius.

Death of pope Innocent III., about July 13.

Et anno eodem die Sancti Lucæ[4] evangelistæ obiit rex Johannes, veneno exstinctus apud Swinesheived a quodam hospitali dictæ domus,[5] et sepultus est apud Wigorniam.

John dies on Oct. 18.

Hoc anno, die scilicet apostolorum Symonis et Judæ, coronatus est[6] primo in regem Angliæ Henricus filius Johannis apud Gloverniam, non de jure, quod locus sit regiæ consecrationis, sed de necessitate, quoniam regnum vacabat, nec potuit cum suis adire Westmonasterium, debitum et locum solitum[7] consecrationis, propter manifestam hostilitatis malitiam, quoniam inimici ejus Londoniam occupaverunt; sed, pace regni firmata, postea apud Westmonasterium coronatur, sicut in consequentibus subscribitur.[8]

Henry III. is crowned at Gloucester on Oct. 28.

Obiit Herebertus Sarum[9] episcopus.

Death of Herbert, bishop of Salisbury [1217].

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[1] *Canec*, F.

[2] F. reads *in ipsa ecclesia*, and in the next line the MSS. have *in dicta ecclesia*.

[3] *Mildridæ*, S.

[4] Oct. 19, at Newark.

[5] This passage (*veneno . . . domus*) is not in S., the older MS., a point worthy of notice.

[6] *est*, om. S.

[7] *solitum*, om. F.

[8] *subscriberet*, F.

[9] *Herbertus Salesburiensis*, F. The bishop died on Feb. 6, 1217. Here the year beginning 26 March and ending 25 March seems to be adopted; but, on the other hand, see "*post Natale*," two lines below.

A.D. 1217.

ANNO M°CC°X°VII°.

Louis crossed to France after 25 Dec. (1216). Many barons return to their allegiance.

Lodowicus ab Anglia transfretavit in Franciam post Natale. Multi barones et milites ex parte Lodowici conversi sunt ad fidelitatem regis Henrici, et parati sunt ad obsidionem faciendam circa civitatem Lundoniæ.

Chron. used by R. Coggeshall (p. 185).

Louis returning besieges Dover. The battle of Lincoln. The count of Perche is killed. The battle took place on May 20. Louis quits the siege of Dover and retires on London. Defeat of the French fleet.

Applicato[1] iterum Lodowico in Angliam, obsedit castrum de Doure,[2] et interim accedentes omnes barones Angliæ simul cum comite de Pertico[3] et pluribus aliis Franciæ apud Lincolniam, capti sunt per barones fautores domini regis Henrici. Et ipse comes de Pertico ibidem cum multis interfectus est: et ista accidebant sabbato in vigilia Sanctæ Trinitatis scilicet xiij. kalendas[4] Junii. His auditis recessit Lodowicus ab obsidione de Doure. Deinde veniens Londoniam, maximam fecit moram in civitate, exspectans succursum Francorum. Tandem parato[5] maximo navigio, majores Franciæ barones [et][6] milites iter aggressi sunt veniendi in Angliam cum multitudine armatorum copiosa et pecunia infinita in succursum Lodowici. Sed percussit Dominus capita bellatorum venientium ad dispergendum gentem Anglicanam. Et facti sunt hostes ejus[7] in prædam, et capti sunt, et captivi ducti sunt in captivitatem usque in castrum de Doure, et reduxit Dominus super quosdam aquas maris, et submersi sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus.[8] Auditis ergo[9] et factis pro ecclesia et gente Anglorum tot et

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[1] *applicante.*, F.

[2] *Doure*, S.; *Dovere*, F. This difference in spelling is constant, and will not be further noticed.

[3] *Portico*, F., with the same error below imperfectly corrected.

[4] *Kalendas*, om. F.

[5] *peracto* in both MSS.

[6] *et*, not in F. or S.

[7] *ejus*, om. F.

[8] On this and the three succeeding pages are many passages agreeing verbatim with Coggeshall (Rolls ed. pp. 185–8). On comparison it will be seen that this similarity is probably due to the use made by both authors of some chronicle which is now lost.

[9] *ergo*, om. F.

tantis miraculis, parati sunt omnes ex parte sanctæ ecclesiæ, et domini regis et regni, a minimo usque ad maximum in expeditionem ire contra alienigenas ad obsidionem[1] memoratæ civitatis Londoniæ; sed Dominus omnipotens, non in multitudine dimicans,[2] hostium contrivit multitudinem et fortitudinem, et dextera sua glorificata est in[3] populo suo.

A.D. 1217.

Chron. used by R. Coggeshall, (p. 186).

Et pax ecclesiæ et regni Angliæ formata et facta est in vigilia Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis inter[4] dominum H[enricum] regem Angliæ et Lodowicum, in præsentia domini Guuales,[5] tunc Apostolicæ sedis legati, præsentibus episcopis multis et aliis prælatis et omnibus Angliæ[6] majoribus, exceptis illis qui capti fuerant apud Lincolniam, et sic Pharaone triumphato et hostibus fugatis, veritas et pax in terra nostra orta est, et justitia de cœlo super populum suum prospexit.

Peace with France, Sept. 13 (Sept. 11).

Anno M°CC°X°VIII°.

A.D. 1218.

Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ Wigorniæ[7] dedicata est, et corpus gloriosi confessoris Sancti Wlstani translatum est uno et eodem die, scilicet vij. Idus Junii, præsidente eidem ecclesiæ Silvestro episcopo, ejusdem ecclesiæ aliquando priore et monacho: et[8] paulo post apud Ramesciam[9] obiit memoratus S[ilvester] episcopus. Cui successit Willelmus de Bleis, archidiaconus de Bukingeham.[10]

Dedication of Worcester Cathedral, June 7.

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1 *ab obsidione*, F.
2 *demirans*, F.
3 *in*, om. F.
4 *inter*, S.; *in*, F.
5 *Gital'*, F.
6 *Angliæ*, om. F.
7 *Wigorniæ*, om. F.
8 *et*, S.; *etiam*, F.
9 *Rameseram*, F.
10 *Bukingham*, F. This paragraph should be compared with the Waverley Annals (p. 289), which in several places seem to show traces of the chronicle used here and by R. de Coggeshall.

A.D. 1218.

Council at Westminster.

Apud Westmonasterium habebatur consilium maximum inter omnes episcopos et barones Angliæ de confirmatione regni.

Chron. used by R. Coggeshall, (pp. 186, 187).

Cardinal Gualo leaves about Nov. 30, and Pandulph arrives.

Dominus Guales legatus recessit ab Anglia versus Romam circa festum Sancti Andreæ, et dominus Pandulfus successit eidem in legationem, et cito post festum Sancti Andreæ venit Londoniam, et apud Sanctum Paulum receptus est.

Siege of Damietta.

Anno illo facta est obsidio circa civitatem Damietæ.[1] et motio maxima Anglicorum cruce signatorum facta est versus Jerusalem et versus civitatem illam.

Et[2] eodem anno tunc primo rex Henricus proprium habuit sigillum.

A.D. 1219.

ANNO M°CC°X°IX°.

Death of William Marshall.

Obiit Willelmus Marescallus senior apud Kaversham: cujus corpus honorifice receptum est a conventu de Radinges[3] cum processione sollemni, et in choro collocatum, donec missa pro eo celebrata esset.[4] Deinde Londoniam delatum est, et a conventu Westmonasteriensi receptum, et ibidem pro eo missa celebratur. Deinde transfertur ad Novum Templum, et in crastino ibidem sepelitur.

Council.

Eodem anno maxima consilia tractabantur inter barones Angliæ, mediante legato Pandulfo, de reformatione regni et pace inter eos servanda, et inter Leulinum[5] principem Norwalliæ et quosdam magnates Angliæ, et de marchia de perturbationibus sedandis.

Damietta is taken by the Crusaders about Nov. 6.

Eodem anno capitur[6] civitas Damieta a Christianis circa festum Sancti Leonardi.

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[1] Thus in MSS.

[2] *et*, om. F.

[3] *Redinges*, F.

[4] S. has *celebrata* only.

[5] *Leulinum*, S.; *Lewelinum*, F.

[6] *capitur*, S.; *capta est*, F. The difference of tense here is worthy of note.

ANNO M°CC°XX°.

A.D. 1220.

Chron. used by R. Coggeshall, (pp. 187, 188).

Truce with France for four years.

Treugæ captæ sunt inter Philippum regem Franciæ et dominum Henricum regem Angliæ pro pace Pictaviæ, et sunt concessæ ab eodem Philippo usque in quatuor annos.

Council.

Dominus Pandulfus legatus et dominus H[enricus] rex Angliæ, cum domino S[tephano] Cantuariæ, et fere omnibus episcopis et comitibus et majoribus terræ, consilium et tractatum habuerunt de pace regni apud Westmonasterium.

Second coronation of Henry III., May 17.

Eodem anno, scilicet die Pentecostes, xvj. kalendas Junii, coronatus est Henricus rex Angliæ, filius Johannis regis, apud Westmonasterium a domino Stephano de Langetune [1] Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, præsentibus Pandulfo [2] Apostolicæ sedis legato, et episcopis et abbatibus et majoribus Angliæ tunc ibi exsistentibus; a quo archiepiscopo inter sermonem factum populo prædicatur crucis signatio, et Sancti Hugonis episcopi Lincolniæ canonizatio, auctoritate Honorii papæ celebranda xv. kalendas Decembris.

Hugh of Lincoln canonised; his festival appointed for Nov. 17.

New foundation of Westminster Abbey.

[E]odem tempore, ad petitionem abbatis [3] et conventus Westmonasterii, jacitur primus lapis fundamenti novi operis ejusdem loci a domino H[enrico] rege, præsentibus cum ipso domino [4] R[icardo] episcopo Sarum,[5] Huberto de Burgo, tunc justitiario Angliæ, et aliis episcopis et multis magnatibus [6] ad coronationem ipsius tunc venientibus.

Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury: the bishops

Eodem anno, scilicet mense Julii in crastino octavarum [7] Petri et Pauli, dominus Pandulfus legatus cum episcopis, abbatibus, et ceteris prælatis Angliæ, et dominus rex cum comitibus, baronibus, et magnatibus

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[1] *Langetone*, F. This difference recurs, and will not be further noticed.

[2] *Pandulpho*, F. This also will not be further recorded. Both MSS. have *præsente*.

[3] *abbatis*, om. F.

[4] *domino*, om. F.

[5] S. has *Sarum*, F. has *Saresburiensi*. This difference will not be further noticed.

[6] F. reads, *et aliis militibus magnatibus*.

[7] S. has *octabis*.

A.D. 1220.

and barons assemble at Canterbury on July 5.

suis ad transferendum corpus gloriosissimi Thomæ Cantuariæ archiepiscopi et martyris, ex mandato domini papæ, et ad petitionem domini S[tephani] de Langetune Cantuariæ archiepiscopi Cantuariam convenerunt, populus etiam utriusque sexus et ætatis infinitus, et non solum de Anglia, verum etiam de Francia et de omnibus circumadjacentibus regionibus. Tanta visa est ibidem multitudo hominum ut operirent faciem terræ sicut locustæ. Tenor[1] autem mandati Apostolici erat in hunc modum:—

Bull of pope Honorius III., authorising the translation of S. Thomas.

"Honorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis Christi "fidelibus, nobilibus et aliis, per Angliam constitutis, salu"tem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Rex cœlestis dominus "Angelorum[2] regnum Angliæ ceteris altius nostris tempo"ribus honoravit, et speciali quadam prærogativa decoris "gentem Anglicanam insignivit dum, mundo posito in "maligno et malitia hominum excrescente, virum sibi ex"inde sine macula præelegit, qui non solum in tempore "iracundiæ reconciliatio factus est ut sacerdos, verum etiam "ad cœleste convivium invitatus, illum saporare meruit, "quem biberat Dominus, calicem passionis; et quia inven"tus est dignus Deo coronavit eum gloria et honore, co"ronam ipsius capiti superponens de lapide pretioso, ut sic "unus ex Anglis inter Angelos super opera manuum Do"mini[3] constitutus, pro peccatis populorum omnium fieret "intercessor. Cantet igitur[4] novum Domino canticum Can"tuariensis ecclesia, cujus aram suo purpuravit pretioso "sanguine martyr Thomas. Quinimmo civitas ipsa tota "Deo potest et debet in exultationis voce non immerito "jubilare, quæ cruore roseo sui martyris rubricata, pulchra "facta est, et apparuit speciosa. Unde diversarum multi"tudine gentium ex omni fere, quæ[5] sub cœlo est, natione "celebritatem ipsius summo opere venerante, quodam quasi "felici præsagio suum videtur esse sortita vocabulum ex "eventu, ac si dicatur expresse Cantuaria, 'cantus aræ,'

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[1] F. has *tenorem*.

[2] *Anglorum?* F.

[3] *Domini* expuncted and *Deum* substituted in F.

[4] *igitur*, S.; *ergo*, F.

[5] *qui*, F.

" vos, inquam, si[1] diligenter attenditis hunc[2] honorem, gratiarum actiones assiduas, Largitori bonorum omnium exsolvetis. Cui vos ex impensæ benedictionis gratia terræ vestræ potestis cognoscere debitores, ut ingratitudinis evitetis vitium et possitis devoti filii nuncupari.[3] Et quidem si omni tempore puro corde benedicere ac honorare Dominum debeatis, ita tamen præcipue vos oportet[4] vestes induere nuptiales, et cum jocunditate in laudes vestro assurgere Creatori, cum venturæ festivitatis sollemnitas id[5] exposcat. Sane venerabili fratre nostro Stephano Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali, nuper accepimus intimante, quod idem volens ostendere in effectu[6] quanto devotionis fervore martyris supradicti memoriam veneretur, sacratissimum corpus ejus sublevare proponit de terra, ipsumque translatum de terra honorabilius collocare, cum dignum sibi et condecens videatur illum, quantum in eo est, exaltare in terra, quem in cœlo Dominus exaltavit. Nos igitur pium et laudabile archiepiscopi memorati propositũm acceptantes, universitatem vestram monendam duximus, et exhortandam per Apostolica vobis scripta mandantes, quatinus pacem mutuam et concordiam in caritatis vinculo conservantes, conscientias vestras cunctis perversitatibus expietis, et[7] sic vos in bonis studeatis operibus exercere, ut cum dies ipsius sollemnitatis advenerit, in occursu vestri sanctissimi martyris et patroni, ipsum possitis honorificentia debita venerari, quod doceatis alios per exemplum, quantum esse debeat celebris per diversa mundi climata præfati martyris memoria gloriosa. Data Laterani etc." [8] A.D. 1220.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini[9] MCC°XX° Nonas

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[1] *si*, S.; om. F.
[2] *hunc*, S.; *habenti*, F.
[3] *nuptiari*, F.
[4] *oportet*, S.; *omnes*, F.
[5] *id*, S.; *idem*, F.
[6] *affectum*, F.; *effectum*, S.
[7] *et*, om. F.
[8] In the Fœdera, i. 153, not quoted from a MS. source but from Lupus, "*Epp. Thomæ Cant. Arch.*," p. 883, with date thus, "*Data Laterani* viii. *kalendas Februarii pontificatus nostri anno tertio*" (1219).
[9] F. omits *ab . . . Domini*.

A.D. 1220.

The translation of S. Thomas is effected, July 7.

Julii translatum est corpus gloriosissimi pontificis et martyris Thomæ Cantuariæ archiepiscopi a domino Stephano de Langetune, tunc archiepiscopo, sub Henrico rege, filio regis Johannis, anno ejus iiij°.

A.D. 1221.

ANNO M°CC°XX°I°.

Loss of Damietta.

Damieta redditur Saracenis, et Crux Sancta Christianis.[1]

A.D. 1222.

ANNO M°CC°XX°II°.

A comet appears.

Hoc anno visa est cometa magnos habens radios. Item visi sunt dracones, eadem die eadem hora, per diversas provincias.

A.D. 1223.

ANNO M°CC°XX°III°.[2]

A.D. 1224.

ANNO M°CC°XX°IIII°.

Siege of Bedford Castle.

Obsedit Henricus rex castellum de[3] Bedeforde.

A.D. 1225.

ANNO M°CC°XX°V°.[4]

Novæ leges datæ sunt in Anglia.

A.D. 1226.

ANNO M°CC°XX°VI°.

Obiit Lodowicus rex Francorum.
Item obiit Willelmus Lungespeie senior.

A.D. 1227.

ANNO M°CC°XX°VII°.

Death of Pope Honorius III.

Obiit Honorius papa. Cui[5] successit Gregorius ix^us.[5]

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[1] S. has the date but records no events.

[2] No events in either MS.

[3] S. omits *castellum de.*

[4] S. has the date, but records no events. A blank line is left for additions.

[5] S. omits *cui* and ix^us.

A.D. 1228.

ANNO M°CC°XXVIII°.

Death of Archbishop Stephen Langton.

Obiit magister Stephanus de Langetune Cantuariæ archiepiscopus.

ANNO M°CC°XX°IX°.[1] A.D. 1229.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°. A.D. 1230.

Henricus rex transfretavit cum exercitu magno in Britanniam.

Obiit comes Gloverniæ.

A.D. 1231.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°I°.

Richard Archbishop of Canterbury and William Marshall die.

Obiit Ricardus Cantuariæ archiepiscopus. Item obiit Willelmus Marescallus: successit Ricardus frater ejus.

War against the Welsh.

Hoc anno mota est guerra in partibus Walliæ, et constructum est a domino rege castrum Matildis.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°II°.[1] A.D. 1232.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°III°.[2] A.D. 1233.

Electus est magister Edmundus[3] in archiepiscopum Cantuariæ.

Death of Alan Basset. Gilbert Basset and others rebel.

Obiit Alanus Basset; et[4] hoc anno orta est guerra magna inter dominum regem et comitem Ricardum Marescallum et Gilebertum[5] Basset et Ricardum Siward, et terræ eorum vastatæ, et castra eorum et domus subversæ.

Oct. 30.

Eodem anno, scilicet iij° kalendas Novembris, ductus fuit Hubertus de Burgo de Divisis usque Struguil.[6]

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[1] Nothing recorded in either F. or S.

[2] F. has M°CC°XX°iij°.

[3] *Eadmundus*, F. The true date for election as well as consecration seems to have been 1234. See the continuation of Gervase, ii. 130.

[4] *et*, om. S.

[5] *Gilbertum*, F.

[6] *Strugul*, S. The words *ductus fuit* give a wrong idea. He escaped from Devizes; took sanctuary; was dragged forth, but sent back again; then he escaped to Wales.

A.D. 1234.

Consecration of Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury, April 2.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°IIII°.

Consecratus est magister Edmundus in archiepiscopum Cantuariæ dominica qua cantatur "*Lætare Jerusalem.*"

A.D. 1235.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°V°.[1]

A.D. 1236.

Henry marries Eleanor of Provence.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°VI°.

Elienor,[2] filia comitis Sancti Egidii, facta est[3] regina Angliæ.

A.D. 1237.

Schools of the Cistercian order at Paris instituted.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°VII°.

Inceptæ sunt scholæ Cistertiensis ordinis apud Parisium, in loco qui vocatur Chardenay. [Furness Chron. only.]

Obiit J[ohannes] rex Ierosolymitanus.[4]

Eodem anno obiit[5] Ricardus Dunelmensis[6] episcopus.

The legate Otho holds a council in London, Nov. 20.

Eodem anno celebratum est generale concilium Londoniæ, xij. kalendas Decembris, sub Ottone[7] legato.

A.D. 1238.

Death of Peter des Roches.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°VIII°.

Obiit Petrus de Rupibus episcopus Wintoniæ.

A.D. 1239.

Birth of Prince Edward.

ANNO M°CC°XXX°IX°.

Hoc anno fuit eclipsis solis iij. Nonas Junii, ab hora tertia usque ad horam[8] decimam. Item natus est Edwardus primogenitus Henrici regis.

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[1] The date is not followed by any entry either in F. or S., though in S. the next entry is begun, by mistake, with the word *regina* on the line belonging to this year.

[2] *Alienor*, omitting the superfluous word *regina*, F. In S. the whole of this entry is an interpolation in light ink, but in the same hand.

[3] *est*, om. F.

[4] John de Brienne.

[5] S. omits everything under this year preceding the word *obiit*.

[6] *Dunobirensis*, F.

[7] *Octone*, F. The 19th, 21st, and 22nd of November were the days on which the Council sat.

[8] S. has *hora*.

ANNO M°CC°XL°.

A.D. 1240.

Obiit sanctissimus pater Edmundus Cantuariæ archiepiscopus[1] in transmarinis partibus apud villam quæ dicitur Soysi, xij. kalendas Decembris.[2] Cujus corpus sanctissimum cum magno honore delatum est Pontiniacum,[3] ubi Dominus crebris illud[4] decorat miraculis.

Edmund archbishop of Canterbury dies at Soissy, Nov. 20.

Eodem anno obiit Lewlinus princeps Walliæ.

Item hoc anno post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis nobilis vir Ricardus comes Cornubiæ iter arripuit versus Terram Sanctam, et cum eo Willelmus Lungespeye II[5] et multi magnates Angliæ. Et dominus rex Franciæ recepit[6] prædictum R[icardum] honorifice et socios suos, et deduxit per terram suam.

After June 10 Richard Earl of Cornwall and other nobles set out for the Holy Land.

ANNO M°CC°XL°I°.

A.D. 1241.

Hoc anno pridie nonas Octobris fuit eclipsis solis infra tertiam et nonam.[7]

ANNO M°CC°XL°II°.

A.D. 1242.

Hoc anno fuit eclipsis lunæ, viij. idus Martii.

Item[8] vij. idus Maii Henricus rex iter[9] arripuit cum exercitu versus Gasconiam.[10]

Henry crosses to Gascony, May 9.

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[1] *episcopus*, F.

[2] Matth. Paris, iv. 73, gives the date Nov. 16.

[3] *Pontiniaco*, MSS.

[4] *illud*, S.; *illum*, F.

[5] *Lungespeie*, F., with *Comes Sarisbiriensis* in margin in contemporary hand. S. alone adds the figures showing him to be the second earl of that name.

[6] *recepit*, om. F.

[7] F. omits this entry and the figures of the next year, thus placing the eclipse of the *moon* under 1241—a purely clerical error.

[8] *Item.* F. omits this word, and wrongly inserts the date 1243.

[9] *primo* is inserted in margin, by another hand in F.; S. omits.

[10] S. rightly places this under 1242.

Death of Hugh de Lacy (in 1242).

Obiit Hugo de Lacy comes Ultoniæ.[1]

A.D. 1244.

ANNO M°CC°XL°IIII°.

Consecration of bishops of Bath and London, in September. William Raleigh enthroned at Winchester.

Magister Rogerus, quondam præcentor Sarum, consecratus est in episcopum Bathoniensem, mense Septembris.

Eodem mense dominus Fulco Basset[2] factus est episcopus Londoniæ.

Willelmus de Ralee intronizatus est Wintoniæ.

Herebertus filius Mathæi lapidibus obrutus est in Wallia, juxta abbatiam de Margan, in qua sepultus jacet.

A.D. 1245.

ANNO M°CC°XL°V°.

Council of Lyons.

Lugduni celebrato generali concilio ab Innocentio papa iiij.to,[3] Fredericus imperator a regno pariter et imperio condemnatus est[4] fieri per omnem ecclesiam.[5]

A.D. 1246.

ANNO M°CC°XL°VI°.

Earthquake on Feb. 20.

Terræ motus factus est magnus et horribilis x° kalendas Martii.

A.D. 1247.

ANNO M°CC°XL°VII°.

New convent at Stanley, Wilts.

Ingressus est conventus de Stanleye in Wiltescira novum monasterium.[6] [Stanley Chron. only.]

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[1] Another hand in F. adds *Vluestere*. Matthew Paris (iv. 232) says Hugh died in 1242. S. has no entry for 1243, omitting even the date. F. has no event which really belongs to the year.

[2] In F. *Fulko Baset*.

[3] *ab . . . quarto*, om. S.

[4] S. omits all after *est*.

[5] Should probably read, *condemnatus est, et fere per omnem ecclesiam excommunicatus*.

[6] F. neglects this entry.

[Furness Chron. only.] Claruerunt cotidie miracula multa apud Pontiniacum, abbatiam scilicet ordinis Cistercii, de sancto Edmundo archiepiscopo, unde Innocentius papa instituit festum ejus. St. Edmund of Canterbury placed in the calendar.

ANNO M°CC°XL°VIII°. A.D. 1248.

Terræ motus accidit pridie ante vigiliam Natalis[1] Domini.[2] Earthquake on Dec. 23 (1247).

[Stanley Chron. only.] Eodem anno obiit piæ memoriæ dominus Robertus, ix^us abbas Stanlegæ in Wiltescira, scilicet iiij. Idus Aprilis. Death of Robert abbot of Stanley, April 10.

ANNO M°CC°XL°IX° A.D. 1249.

Rex Franciæ Lodowicus captus est a Saracenis in terra Egypti,[3] et Willelmus Lungespeie occisus est in Terra Sancta. Deaths of William Longespée, William bishop of Winchester (in 1250), and of the king of Scotland, 1249.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus de Ralee Episcopus Wintoniæ.[4]

[Furness Chron. only.] Civitas Dameta capitur a Lodowico rege Franciæ.

Obiit rex Scotiæ. Cui successit Alexander filius ejus, qui postea duxit Margaretam filiam regis Angliæ.

ANNO M°CC°L°.[5] A.D. 1250.

ANNO M°CC°L°I°. A.D. 1251.

Obiit Fredericus imperator, et H. comes de Arundel.[6] Death of Frederick II. (in 1250).

[1] *pridie ante Natale*, F.

[2] F. omits all that follows under this year.

[3] These events belong to the following year.

[4] S. omits all that follows under this year.

[5] No entry under this date in either F. or S., the events belonging to 1250 having been erroneously placed under 1249.

[6] *et . . . Arundel*, om. S. Hugh de Albini, earl of Arundel, died, according to M. Paris (iv. 243), on 7 May 1243. See *Ann. Theok.* p. 130.

A.D. 1252.

ANNO M°CC°L°II°.

Maxima siccitas[1] fuit. Frater Petrus de ordine Prædicatorum martirizatur apud Mediolanum.

William earl Warrenne dies.

Obiit Willelmus comes Warenniæ.[2]

Eodem anno fuit Willelmus Abbas Furnensis apud Cistercium.[3]

A.D. 1253.

ANNO M°CC°L°III°.

Henry's second expedition to Gascony. St. Richard bishop of Chichester and Robert Grostête of Lincoln die.

Henricus rex iter arripuit versus Gasconiam secundo, cum exercitu suo. Obiit piæ memoriæ venerabilis pater[4] Ricardus Cicestrensis episcopus. Item obiit magister Robertus Grossum-caput Lincolniæ episcopus.

Obiit[5] Blanca regina Franciæ.

ANNO M°CC°L°IIII°.

A.D. 1254.

Innocent IV. dies. Return of king Henry. Marriage of prince Edward.

Obiit Innocentius papa iiij^us^: successit Alexander iiij^us^.

Rediit Henricus rex de Gasconia.

Edwardus filius ejus duxit uxorem filiam regis Hispaniæ.[6] Et factus est dominus Hiberniæ.

A.D. 1255.

ANNO M°CC°L°V°.

Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, dies.

Obiit dominus[7] Walterus de Gray archiepiscopus Eboracensis.[8]

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[1] S. has only these two words under this date.

[2] M. Paris (iv. 12) states that he died 27 May 1240.

[3] *Cisterciensem*, MS.

[4] F. omits *piæ . . . pater*.

[5] S. omits this entry. Queen Blanche died Dec. 1, 1252.

[6] For *filiam . . . Hispaniæ*, S. reads *in Hispania*, and omits *Et . . . Hiberniæ*.

[7] *dominus*, om. F.

[8] *Cui successit Sewalus*, added by another hand, in F. The words are not in S.

ANNO M°CC°L°VI°.

A.D. 1256.

Eclipsis solis facta est[1] iij° kalendas Januarii ab hora tertia usque ad ix^am^. — *Eclipse of the sun, 30 Dec. (1255).*

Hoc anno obiit Willelmus de Eboraco Sarum episcopus, mense Februarii.[2] — *Death of William bishop of Salisbury.*

Eodem anno in xl^a^ electus est magister Egidius de Brideport in episcopum Sarum, et statim post Pascha iter arripuit versus Romam.

Eodem anno Ricardus comes Cornubiæ electus est imperator Alemanniæ. — *Richard earl of Cornwall elected emperor.*

Item eodem anno dominica proxima ante Purificationem,[3] scilicet ante auroram, fuit terræ motus et ventus maximus,[4] et pluvia abundanter a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Pentecosten. — *On Jan. 28 (1257) an earthquake.*

ANNO M°CC°L°VII°.

A.D. 1257.

Obiit Willelmus Lungespey[5] iii^us^. inter Circumcisionem et Epiphaniam.[6] Eodem anno consecratus est magister Egidius episcopus Sarum, xv. kalendas Aprilis,[7] et intronizatus est apud Sarum kalendis Aprilis, scilicet dominica in Ramis Palmarum. — *Jan. 1–6 [1256].*

Item[8] eodem anno post Pascha nobilis vir Ricardus comes Cornubiæ Alemanniam adiit, et portavit coronam die dominica proxima ante Ascensionem.[9] Et[10] eodem anno dedit arma Henrico filio suo. — *Richard earl of Cornwall crowned in Germany. May 13.*

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[1] *Facta est*, om. S.

[2] 31 Jan. 1256 is the date given in the "Registrum Sacrum Eccl. "Anglic."

[3] Imperfect, *Par'*, in F.

[4] *magnus*, F.

[5] *Longespeie*, F.

[6] F. omits these dates.

[7] The succeeding words of this entry are not in F. The date in the *Ann. Winton.*, p. 95, is March 11, 1256, the apparent error in the year in the text is due to the reckoning from March 26.

[8] *Item*, om. F.

[9] The date usually assigned is Ascension Day (May 17).

[10] *et*, om. F.

A.D. 1257.

Death of Sewall, archbishop of York. Slaughter of an English army in Wales on June 2, and death of Stephen Baucan.

Eodem[1] anno obiit Sewallus archiepiscopus Eboracensis. Cui successit Godefridus de Lodeham.[2]

Item eodem anno, die Sabbati proxima ante festum sanctæ[3] Trinitatis, fuit magna occisio militum in partibus Walliæ, et maxime Stephani Baucen:[4] et magna guerra orta est inter regem Angliæ et principem Walliæ.

A.D. 1258.

ANNO M°CC°L°VIII°.

Parliament held at Oxford about June 24.

Hoc anno fuit parliamentum omnium baronum et comitum totius Angliæ apud Oxoniam cum armis, pro jure suo et totius terræ contra voluntatem regis,[5] ad repugnandum dominum Willelmum de Valence, et Guidonem de Lisinum, et Aldemarum electum Wintoniæ, fratres regis,[6] et alios extraneos, per xv dies circa festum sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

[A.D. 1258.]

[ANNO M°CC°L°IX°.]

The Provisions of Oxford are the cause of the ensuing war. Council of Merton, June 6.

[Provisiones factæ sunt apud Oxoniam a rege H[enrico] et baronibus; quarum de causa guerra inter regem et barones [et][7] multa mala contigerunt.][8]

Eodem anno fuit concilium Bonefacii archiepiscopi et omnium suffraganeorum suorum apud Mertune,[9] scilicet die Jovis ante festum sancti Barnabæ, ad

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[1] This entry, as far as *Lodeham*, is not in S.

[2] Wikes (p. 118) agrees with the text, but it is usually stated that Sewall de Bovill died in 1258, and that Godfrey Ludham succeeded him in the same year. See Stubbs, Reg. Sac. Eccl. Anglic., 43.

[3] *sanctæ*, om. F.

[4] *Baucen*, S.; *Bauten*, F.

[5] *contra . . . regis*, om. F.

[6] *regi*, F.

[7] The single letter *t* appears here in F., and is expuncted.

[8] F. inserts the date and this paragraph, thus erroneously placing the Provisions of Oxford under 1259. In S. a blank line follows the word *Baptistæ*, and then the text resumes with *Eodem anno fuit concilium Bonefacii*. The scribe of F. was thus misled, and has omitted the true events of the year 1259 altogether.

[9] *Merton'*, F. This convocation at Merton was in 1258. See acts of the assembly at length in the Annal. de Burton, p. 411, &c.

[A.D. 1258.]

quassandam decimam totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ per Alexandrum papam concessam.

A portent on May 19.

Eodem anno apparuit luna sanguineo rubore perfusa quasi dimidia hora, xiiij kalendas Junii in crepusculo, dehinc nigredine subsequente quasi hora integra, et sic ad lucem propriam reversa est.

Dedication of Salisbury cathedral, Sept. 29. [1258.]

Item eodem anno, die sancti Michaelis, dedicata est major ecclesia Sarum[1] in præsentia regis et reginæ per archiepiscopum Bonefacium Cantuariæ, procurante hoc et adjuvante magistro Egidio de Brideport, ejusdem ecclesiæ tunc episcopo.[2]

A.D. 1260.

Anno M°CC°LX°.

The king repents of his assent to the Provisions of Oxford.

Pœnituit regem Henricum eo quod consensisset provisionibus Oxoniæ, cœpitque a proposito resilire, et dictas provisiones pro posse suo quassare.

[Furness Chron. only.] Walter Kirkham, bishop of Durham, dies.

Obiit Walterus de Kyrkam Dunelmensis episcopus. Cui successit Robertus de Stichel prior de Finekale.

Eodem anno fuit hiems asperrima.

A.D. 1261.

Anno M°CC°LX°I°.

Death of Alexander IV. The papal chair remains vacant.

Obiit Alexander papa quartus, dissentientibusque cardinalibus, ecclesia Romana diu[3] vacavit. Tandem successit Urbanus.

[Furness Chron. only.] Troubles between the king and his barons.

Item rumor Tartarorum multos terruit. Eodem anno fuit contentio magna inter regem Henricum et principes regni, scilicet comites et barones, causa provisionum Oxoniæ.

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[1] This was on Sept. 29, 1258 (Ann. Theokesb. 166). Fulk Bassett, who was present, died 20 May 1259.

[2] In S. there is a blank space amounting to two-thirds of *fo.* 155. There are no entries until 1262, when the text is resumed in the same hand. In F. there is no break, but no events really belonging to 1259 are inserted.

[3] From May to August.

A.D. 1262.

Anno M°CC°LX°II°.

On the death of Giles Bridport, Walter de la Wile is elected bishop of Salisbury.

Obiit Egidius episcopus Sarum ante Nativitatem Domini.[1]

Eodem anno electus est dominus Walterus de la Wile, succentor Sarum, in episcopum ejusdem ecclesiæ.[2]

Eodem anno abbas Guido Cystercii, vocatus ad Romam, fit cardinalis.

Death of Richard earl of Gloucester.

[Furness Chron. only.]

Obiit Ricardus comes Gloverniæ. Cui successit Gilbertus filius ejus. Post cujus obitum rex provisiones Oxoniæ omnino quassare nitebatur.

Anno M°CC°LX°III°.[3]

A.D. 1263.

The disputes respecting the Provisions of Oxford.

Post multa parliamenta inter regem et barones de provisionibus Oxoniæ, rege nullo modo acquiescente baronibus, facta est guerra manifesta. Causa totius discordiæ inter regem et barones hæc fuit, quod rex et omnes majores regni juraverunt se provisiones Oxoniæ in perpetuum servare. Rege vero consilio suorum propositum suum mutante, barones et comites viriliter persistiterunt. Ex parte baronum primus erat Simon de Monteforti comes Laycestriæ, qui sororem regis habuit uxorem, et Gilbertus comes Gloverniæ et Hugo le Despenser, qui tunc erat justitiarius, et alii multi. Plures autem erant cum rege. Quidam etiam nunc regi[4] nunc baronibus adhæserunt, ita ut nulli certum esset cum quo fideliter tenerent. Major pars cleri fuit cum[5] baronibus. Regina vero, quæ fomitem hujus discordiæ non modicum auxit, ut dicitur, clam fugere de regno voluit, sed Londonienses non latuit, qui quidem[6] cum baronibus tenebant. Conduxerunt autem eam per Tamensem, conviciis et in-

[Furness Chron. only.]

The queen flees to France, and on her way is insulted by the Londoners.

[1] F. omits this date.

[2] S. has nothing more under this year.

[3] S. has only a brief account of this year, beginning with the words, *Inceperunt barones* (see p. 541, l. 14), and ending with *cassavit et et irritavit* (l. 23).

[4] *rege*, with dubious correction, F.

[5] *cum*, interlined by a different hand, F.

[6] Altered from *quidam*, F.

A.D. 1263.

juriis turpiter eam dehonestantes: sicque opprobriis saturata secessit in Franciam ad sororem suam reginam Franciæ: totumque genus illud et omnes alienigenæ de terra egredi compulsi sunt.

[Furness Chron. only.]

John Mansel, the clerk of the chancery, flees and dies in poverty abroad.

Eodem tempore recessit ab Anglia Johannes Maunsel, cancellarius[1] clericus domini regis, immo magister, sine quo nihil fiebat in regno, mortuusque est in partibus transmarinis pauper.[2]

The barons assail the king's partisans, besieging Matthias de Besilles in Gloucester from about May 20.

[Furness and Stanley Chronicles.]

Barones siquidem elegerunt magis mori quam provisiones præscriptas in aliquo sinerent violari, utpote juramento astricti, unde facta est inter eos guerra manifesta: hinc indeque ex utraque parte fiebant quotidie deprædationes, incendia, occisiones hominum et incarcerationes, et alia multa enormia. Inceperunt[3] barones currere super fautores domini regis Henrici, qui fuerunt contra provisiones Oxoniæ, et obsederunt Matheum de Besilles[4] in castro Gloverniæ, circa Pentecosten usque ad deditionem.[5]

The king of France, acting as arbitrator, annuls the Provisions (Jan. 23, 1264).

Eodem anno, circa festum Sancti Michaelis, dominus rex et alii barones habuerunt magnum colloquium ad invicem apud Londoniam super provisiones Oxoniæ, et demum posuerunt se in ordinatione regis Franciæ,[6] et ipse Lodowicus omnes provisiones cassavit et irritavit.

[Furness Chron. only.]

Eodem anno obiit rex Norwagiæ.[7]

Anno M°CC°LX°IIII°.

A.D. 1264.

The king in arms at Oxford, before March 25.

Rex Henricus adunare fecit exercitum suum citra festum Annunciationis apud Oxoniam. Et inde venit

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[1] *cancellarius*, in margin in lighter ink and by a different hand, F.

[2] *pauper*, inserted by same hand as *cancellarius* above, F.

[3] In S. the account of events during 1263 begins with this paragraph. See p. 540, note 2.

[4] In F. *Basisilles.*

[5] *deditionem*, S.; *Dedicationem*, F., an important difference. See Rishanger, p. 11.

[6] *Franciæ*, in another hand, in the margin of F.

[7] Haco V. died at Kirkwall, Orkney, Dec. 16.

A.D. 1263. apud Norhamtonam,[1] et ibidem[2] cepit Symonem de Monteforti juniorem cum aliis militibus quam pluri-mis. Et hoc contigit circa festum sancti Ambrosii, et dominus rex incarceravit prædictum Symonem[3] in castro de Winlesore[4] usque ad bellum de Lewes.[5]

Simon de Montfort the younger captured, about April 4.

Henry de Eyville resists to the death.

Quidam autem miles ex illis[6] quos invenit rex apud Norhamtonam eo tempore, scilicet Henricus de Eyuil, senex quidem ætate, sed nobilis animo, qui maluit mori quam victus alligari, solus pro posse suo viri-liter restitit, sed tandem undique vulneratus occubuit. Rex autem tali fortuna gavisus est[7] valde, unde qui-busdam ad pacem regis venientibus partem ejus quotidie fortitudine et numero augmentabant. Cum igitur barones viderent se esse inferiores viribus, nec repugnare valentes contra dominum suum, miserunt legatos[8] rogantes ea quæ pacis sunt, primo per milites et nobiles, per episcopos et viros religiosos, [Furness Chronicle.]

The battle of Lewes.

Eodem anno commissum est bellum gravissimum apud Lewes, pridie Idus Maii, inter dominum regem Henricum, dominum Edwardum primogenitum ejus, dominum Ricardum regem Alemanniæ, fratrem prædicti regis, ex parte una, et dominum Symonem de Monte-forti comitem Leycestriæ, qui sororem prædicti regis duxit in uxorem, et Gilebertum de Clare comitem Gloverniæ, et alios multos barones Angliæ, ex parte altera. In quo bello capti sunt dominus rex Henricus, dominus Ricardus rex Alemanniæ frater ejus, et [Stanley Chronicle.]

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[1] *Norhatun̄*, S.

[2] *ibidem*, S.; *ibi*, F.

[3] *Symonem*, om. F.

[4] *Windelsore*, F.

[5] *usque . . . Lewes*, om. F. The Furness chronicler, who has been scarcely more than a transcriber of the Stanley annals, now swells his narrative to such fulness that the few sentences he still borrows are scarcely worthy of indication. What remains of S. appears at the foot of pp. 542–3, 546–7, and 556, 557, 558.

[6] *ex ill . . .* is in the margin, and part of the latter word has been cut away by the binder.

[7] *est*, interlined by another hand.

[8] The MS. has here *rei*, evidently an error for *regi*, but the word is marked for omission by points in light ink.

etiam obsecrantes si posset ullo modo aliter disponi super præfatis provisionibus, pro quibus tota discordia ista mota est, quatinus immunes essent a juramento quo astricti fuerant. Tunc rex utique paci de facili consensisset nisi sui obstitissent, qui pacem fieri nolentes, immo diem certum et locum constituentes, bellum omnino baronibus remandaverunt.

A.D. 1263.

The barons endeavour to obtain peace, but the king's advisers foil their efforts.

Cum igitur inter eos nullo modo fieri posset concordia, barones se et suos ante et retro cruce signantes Domino commendaverunt. Igitur pridie Idus Maii, utrique, scilicet rex et barones, apud Lewes convenerunt, ubi a mane usque ad noctem commissum est inter eos bellum gravissimum. Erat enim ex utraque parte exercitus armatorum et peditum magnus valde et fortis. Congredientibus illis die illo iiij^or millia quingenti quatuordecim homines occisi sunt, et multi vulnerati evaserunt. Lundonienses vero præ timore fugerunt, quos dominus Edwardus cum vexillariis viriliter persequebatur, non modicum ex eis numerum occidendo. Tandem igitur invalescente gravi prœlio contra regem et suos, rex, porrecto gladio, domino G[ileberto] comiti Gloverniæ se reddidit, et alii multi. Dominum regem Alemanniæ cepit dominus J[ohannes] Giffardus.[1] Plures etiam ibidem fuerunt capti viri magni et potentes, videlicet comes de Herford, Philip-

Battle of Lewes, May 14.

[Furness Chronicle.]

The king and his brother surrender.

Names of captured nobles.

dominus Edwardus primogenitus regis Angliæ, dominus Ph. Basset, qui solus in campo viriliter stetit. Fertur quod in eodem bello occisi sunt ex utraque parte quatuor millia quingenti xiiij homines, et multi vulnerati evaserunt.

[Stanley Chronicle.]

Eodem anno mense Julii apparuit stella, quæ dicitur cometa. Matutinis horis oriebatur emittens ex se radios versus austrum, et circa festum Micahelis evanuit.

A comet is seen from July to September.

[1] See Rishanger, p. 32, as to Giffard.

A.D. 1264.

The king's half-brothers and others flee from the field and reach France.

pus Basset, qui solus in campo viriliter usque ad noctem stetit,[1] Henricus de Percy, Robertus,[2] J[ohannes] Comyn, Robertus de Thatersale, Willelmus Bardulf cum filiis suis, Rogerus de Layburn, et alii quam plures. Fugerunt etiam in illa die comes Warrenniæ, W[illelmus] de Valence, Guido de Lisignan, H[ugo] Bigot, et eorum sequaces Pavenesay, et postea statim mare transierunt in Franciam. [Furness Chronicle.] Rex Henricus dominum Edwardum primogenitum filium suum, et frater ejus Ricardus rex Alemanniæ Henricum primogenitum suum, obsides dederunt baronibus de provisionibus prædictis servandis. Et ita nocte illa inter regem et nobiles suos[3] exstitit provisum et ordinatum, quod provisiones[4] Oxoniæ stabunt inconcusse, et si quid ex eis fuerit corrigendum, per quatuor nobiliores Angliæ, episcopos seu magnates, penitus corrigatur, et si dissentio aliqua fuerit inter quatuor prænotatos, ita quod nullo modo concordes fieri poterunt, tunc stabitur veredicto comitis Andegaviæ et ducis Burgundiæ, si major pars baronum ad hoc consentire voluerit.[5]

The Mise of Lewes arranged in the night, 14–15 May.

Most of those slain were of the lower ranks, and especially Scotchmen.

Siquidem ex parte baronum non fuerunt interfecti magnates nisi dominus W[illelmus] Blundel, ex parte domini regis nisi dominus W[illelmus] de Wilton quondam justiciarius. Ceteri qui ceciderunt in bello isto mediocres exstiterunt de vulgo et maxime de Scottis.[6]

Peace is proclaimed. Enormities perpetrated while the war was in progress. One incident is inserted as a specimen of these occurrences.

His ergo gestis, clamata est pax per totam Angliam per literas regis et baronum. Multa quidem et alia enormia tempore istius guerræ in diversis Angliæ locis evenerunt, quæ hic non inseruntur, tum propter ignorantiam tum propter incertitudinem, et etiam ob cavendam prolixitatem. Unum tamen inseremus quod eodem tempore in Spaldingmor contigit. Quidam

[1] Cf. Stanley Chronicle as to Philip Basset. See also p. 562.

[2] No doubt *Robertus de Brus*.

[3] *suos* is repeated.

[4] *providentiæ* in MS.

[5] This passage, from *si dissentio*, reads like a quotation. Probably we have here actual words from the lost Mise of Lewes.

[6] Rishanger, pp. 33, 34, gives the name of one more on each side.

A.D. 1264.

miles cum fuisset ex parte baronum, alii, qui erant ex parte regis, venerunt ad quoddam manerium dicti militis et ceperunt illud, et parcum ejus fregerunt, captisque quibusdam bestiis ceteras fugaverunt, ac universa bona, quæ in dicto manerio inventa sunt, destruxerunt et dissipaverunt. Quod cum illi relatum fuisset, alibi procul exsistente, continuo venit ibidem cum paucis, et invenit septem in manerio suo ex iis qui damnum sibi intulerant, quos in una domorum suarum clausos pariter cum domo combussit.

[Furness Chronicle.]

Talia quippe horribilia alibi per plures partes Angliæ contigerunt, discordiæque veteres inter vicinos renovatæ proruperunt[1] in medium, dum impune licere[2] videbatur cuilibet potentiori [spoliare][3] atque opprimere debiliorem et inferiorem, eo quod communis esset guerra per universam provinciam. Unde pater adversus filium et filius contra patrem, frater in fratrem, et propinquus contra propinquum, diabolo machinante, insurrexit.

Private wars break out in many parts of England.

Interea mense Julii stella, quæ dicitur cometa, matutinis horis apparuit, emittens ex se radios versus austrum, et circa festum sancti Michaelis disparuit.[4]

A comet is seen from July to Michaelmas.

Eodem tempore gravis contentio fuit inter Cysterciensem et Claravallensem abbates, qua de causa capitulum generale abbatum illo anno sicut solitum fuit non tenebatur; quæ tamen discordia sequenti anno per ordinationem papæ Clementis penitus sopita est.

Quarrel between the abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux.

Obiit Godefridus de Lodeham archiepiscopus Eboracensis.

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[1] *prorumperunt*, MS.

[2] *littere*, MS.

[3] A word is wanted to complete the sense.

[4] This passage will be observed as occurring in the Stanley Chronicle (see p. 543), with slight verbal differences.

A.D. 1265.

Anno M°CC°L°XV°.

The earl of Leicester soon after Easter proceeds from Hereford to Gloucester and remains till Aug. 1. The king is led about with the earl in honourable captivity. The earls Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare quarrel. Prince Edward becoming free allies himself with de Clare.

Obiit Urbanus papa.[1] Ei successit Clemens.

Hoc anno dominus Symon comes Laycestriæ iter arripuit versus Herefordiam cito post Pascha. Postea moram fecit apud Gloverniam, deinde apud Herefordiam usque ad *Vincula sancti Petri*. Tempore quidem illo rex erat ubique cum domino Symone comite Laycestriæ, sed quasi sub custodia. In magno tamen habebatur honore et reverentia. Postea vero orta est discordia inter comitem Laycestriæ et comitem Gloverniæ, qua[2] invalescente, per augmentum mali facta est inimicitia manifesta, ita ut ab invicem discederent. Totaliter ergo alienavit se Gilbertus comes Gloverniæ a domino Symone, reddens ei malum pro bono. Interim vero liberatus est dominus Edwardus de custodia comitis Leycestriæ, confœderatique sunt statim ipse et comes Gloverniæ ad invicem, et alii multi cum eis, ac plurimum roborata est pars eorum, ita ut hostibus suis essent impenetrabiles. Ex tunc quærebant opportunitatem, qualiter comitem Laycestriæ cum [Furness Chronicle.]

A.D. 1265.

Anno M°CC°LX°V°.

Hoc anno dominus Symon comes Leycestriæ iter arripuit versus Hereford cito post Pascha. Sed moram fecit apud Gloverniam, deinde apud Hereford usque ad *Vincula Sancti Petri*.

Et interim recessit Edwardus a custodia comitis Leycestriæ, et confœderavit se Gileberto comiti Gloverniæ, qui a domino Symone se alienavit, reddens ei malum pro bono. Et non multo post commissum est bellum crudelissimum apud Evesham, pridie nonas Augusti, inter dominum Edwardum, Gilebertum co- [Stanley Chronicle.]

The battle of Evesham.

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[1] Urban IV. died in 1264; his successor, Clement IV., was elected in this year.

[2] *quasi*, MS.

suis perderent. Igitur non multo post convenerunt utrique apud Evesham, videlicet dominus Edwardus cum comite Gloverniæ et Rogero de Mortimer cum exercitu magno valde et forti, et ex adverso dominus Symon de Monteforti cum Hugone Dispensario et Johanne filio Johannis et aliis multis. Fuitque inter eos pridie nonas Augusti in supradicto loco prœlium crudelissimum, ubi dominus Symon de Monteforti et Henricus primogenitus ejus et Hugo Dispensarius, tunc Angliæ justitiarius, et alii multi nobiles et ignobiles, et maxime Wallenses, ex parte baronum ceciderunt et mortui sunt.

A.D. 1265.

The battle of Evesham.

Names of the leaders.

The battle takes place on Aug. 4.

[Furness Chronicle.]

Ex altera namque parte, scilicet cum domino Edwardo, erat multitudo maxima, fortis exercitus nobilis militiæ, et præcipue comes Gloverniæ cum potentia magna, cujus vexillum a longe videns comes Symon de Monteforti dixisse fertur, "Hic rubeus canis vora-"bit nos hodie." Rufus enim erat comes Gloverniæ,

De Montfort's saying respecting de Clare.

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mitem Gloverniæ, Rogerum de Mortemer, ex parte una, et dominum Symonem de Monteforti, Hugonem Dispensarium, Johannem filium Johannis, Humfridum de Boun juniorem, ex altera parte. Qui Humfridus, ut dicitur, cum appropinquasset [ad] locum pugnæ retraxit se. In quo bello cecidit dominus Symon de Monteforti, Hugo Dispensarius tunc justiciarius Angliæ, dominus Henricus primogenitus prædicti Symonis, et alii multi nobiles et ignobiles, et maxime Walenses. Et plures magnati capti sunt. Eodem die Symon de Monteforti junior venit cum magno equitatu versus Evesham ad succursum patris, sed tarde; cumque audivit eventum belli et mortem patris et fratris fugit cum magna tristitia usque ad castrum de Kenillewrþe.

[Stanley Chronicle.]

Eodem anno, post festum sancti Michaelis, applicuit Ottobonus sedis Apostolicæ legatus apud Douram una cum Alienora regina Angliæ.

A.D. 1265. et ideo dixit sic.[1] Et licet sciret ex altera parte plures esse quam secum et ferociores se, noluit tamen fugere, cum id optime posset, ad villam de Hevesham, quæ prope erat; sed suos viriliter animavit, et sic congressi sunt, et ceciderunt ipse et majores ex parte ejus. Plures etiam magnates capti sunt. Quidam autem ex iis, qui eidem conflictum istum ante cohæserunt, venientes ad locum pugnæ, cum tot ex adverso paratos ad prœlium viderent, retraxerunt se, sicut Humfridus de Boun et alii multi.

Some who came to the field, seeing the superiority of the prince's army, withdrew.

Cum igitur sic dominus Symon de Monteforti corruisset, hostes ejus plurimum lætati sunt, et corpus ejus crudeliter consciderunt in frusta,[2] mittentes omnia membra ejus per diversas partes Angliæ, ac dicentes eum infidelem esse, et omnem hanc seditionem movisse. Sed dicunt quidam universa membra ejus taliter sparsa mirabiliter in brevi coadunata esse ad invicem, et condita esse in loco ubi nunc habetur honorifice sepultus, scilicet apud abbatiam de Evesham;[3] fueruntque qui dicerent ad sepulchrum ejus multa fieri miracula, et in loco ubi occisus est fontem nunc esse amœnissimum, et cunctis infirmantibus inde gustantibus saluberrimum. Sed non [ausus] est quisquam hujusmodi [aliquid][4] propalare propter timorem regis et suorum.

De Montfort's body is dismembered, and the limbs are sent to different parts of the kingdom, but are in a marvellous way gathered together again. Miracles at his tomb are secretly spoken about.

Rex ergo, mortuo domino Symone de Monteforti, ad suos et priorem statum suum reversus est.

Eodem die Symon de Monteforti junior, filius dicti comitis Leycestriæ, venit cum magno equitatu versus Evesham ad succursum patris, sed tarde; cumque audiret eventum belli et mortem patris et fratris, cum magna tristitia fugit usque ad castrum de

Simon de Montfort the younger arrives late on Evesham field, and learning

[1] Rishanger, p. 46, says of the army of Edward and de Clare, "rubeo signo in brachiis ambabus "cruce signati."

[2] *frustra*, MS.

[3] The head and hands were sent back to Evesham by Lady Mortimer.

[4] The sentence requires these words.

Kenilwrth,[1] ubi multi milites et nobiles fugientes ibidem cum eo se tenuerunt, et castrum victualibus et aliis munitionibus fortiter [præparaverunt],[2] ac se totaliter ad castri tuitionem armaverunt.

A.D. 1265.

events flees to Kenilworth.

Uxor autem dicti comitis Laycestriæ, post cædem mariti sui desolata atque confusa, noluit morari in Anglia; sed transtulit se ad partes transmarinas, et licet fuisset soror regis Angliæ, tamen quasi alienam reputavit eam rex propter odium mariti sui.

De Montfort's widow and son leave England.

Similiter Symon de Monteforti junior, filius dicti comitis Leycestriæ, post multa pericula et plures angustias ab Anglia exsulavit.

Eodem anno obiit rex Manniæ,[3] post cujus mortem facta est [insula][4] tributaria regi Scotiæ, qui pro ea singulis annis certam firmam solvit regi Norwagiæ. Cessaveruntque reges regnare in Mannia.

The king of Man dies.

Interea post festum sancti Michaelis applicuit Octobonus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, apud Doverham, una cum Alienora regina Angliæ. Causa quidem adventus legati fuit, sicut ipse dixit, ut pacem inter regem et regnum reformaret. Monstratis igitur munimentis suis et causa adventus sui, honorifice susceptus est a rege. Regina vero ad statum prioris honoris et potestatis reversa est.

Arrival of the legate and return of the queen.

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[1] Cf. *Chron. Stanl.* (p. 550).

[2] A word seems wanting in the MS., perhaps *præparaverunt*.

[3] Magnus Olaveson. The *Chron. Manniæ* says he died in 1265, and that in 1266 the sovereignty of the island was made over to the king of Scots.

[4] *insula*, not in MS.

A.D. 1266.

ANNO M°CC°LX°VI°.

De Montfort's adherents exiled.

[Furness Chronicle.]

Post mortem comitis Leycestriae omnes fautores ejus et qui ei adhaeserant exheredavit rex. Quidam autem exsulaverunt, quidam vero ad pacem regis venerunt, multa pecunia redimentes animas suas.

The army of the barons at Chesterfield is dispersed.

Exercitus baronum apud Cesterfeld[1] totaliter dissipatus est.

The king's disposal of the estates of de Montfort and the earl of Derby.

Deditque rex omnes terras, villas, et oppida, quae erant comitis Symonis, Edmundo filio suo, factusque est dominus Edmundus comes Laycestriae et comes de Ferrers et de Lancastria. Comitatum quippe de Ferrers dedit ei rex ob infidelitatem Roberti comitis de Ferrers, eo quod pluries vexillum et arma levaverat contra dominum[2] suum regem. Comitatum vero

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ANNO M°CC°LX°VI°.

A.D. 1266.

[Stanley Chronicle.]

Dedicata est ecclesia de Stanleye in Wiltesyre a domino Waltero de la Wile tunc Sarum episcopo. Cujus anima per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescat.[3] Dominus rex obsedit castrum de Kenillewrþe a festo sanctorum Johannis et Pauli usque ad xv. kalendas Januarii.

Siege of Kenilworth.

ANNO M°CC°LX°VII°.

A.D 1267.

Ventus magnus et validissimus qui prostravit ecclesias, domos, et turres et campanaria ecclesiarum.

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[1] Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, held the castle of Chesterfield, not as a partisan, but apparently as a robber baron. See more as to him on p. 564.

[2] *dominum* repeated.

[3] This passage is in the margin of S., in a different hand, attached by a mark ✝. Walter de la Wyle died 3 Jan. 1270, and the last entry, beyond a mere date (1271), belongs to the year 1270.

[Furness Chronicle.] Lancastriæ habuit dominus Edmundus ex dono regis patris sui. A.D. 1266.

Multi quidem ex iis, qui domino Symoni comiti cohæserant, fugerant ad insulam de Elye;[1] quidam ad insulam de Axingholm, ibidem pugnantes pro animabus suis, quos multotiens per suos molestabat rex. Illos siquidem, qui erant in castro de Kenilewrthe, obsedit rex a festo sanctorum Johannis et Pauli usque ad quintum decimum kalendas Januarii,[2] omnibus modis et machinis castrum illud[3] destruere cupiens. Cumque illi, qui erant in castro, inopia victualium et multiplici defectu vexarentur, ac domus et ædificia quæ erant in castro machinis regis prostrata corruerent, tandem promittenti[4] eisdem vitam et membra reddiderunt se et castrum domino regi. Quidam in castro vero inedia mortui sunt, sicque cotidie pars baronum decremento minuebatur, necdum tamen habebatur ubique firma pax adhuc.

Resistance in isles of Ely and Axholme.

The siege of Kenilworth from June 26 to Dec. 18.

Verumtamen legatus Octobonus, qui venerat a latere domini papæ directus, in initio adventus sui summopere studebat paci reformandæ, partem tamen regis fovebat, terribilem sententiam ferens contra omnes qui adversæ parti, scilicet baronum, faverent; sed postea statim ad prædam versus est, atque pecuniæ colligendæ prorsus inhiabat.

The legate Ottoboni at first endeavoured to make peace, but afterwards only sought to collect money.

ANNO M°CC°LX°VIII°.

A.D. 1268.

[Stanley Chronicle.] Obiit dominus Willelmus Chinnoc x^us abbas Stanlegæ in Wiltescira, vj. kalendas Aprilis. Cujus memoria in benedictione sit in æternum. Amen.

Death of William Chinnoc, abbot of Stanley, March 27.

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[1] This belongs rather to the end of 1265.

[2] Rishanger, p. 59, is vague as to the actual surrender, but implies that it took place on Nov. 11. The *Annal. Winton.* (p. 104) say *about* Dec. 13.

[3] *ibidem illud*, MS., but the former word is struck out.

[4] *promittente*, MS.

A.D. 1266.

Death of Senchia, wife of Richard, king of the Romans. The daughters of the count of Provence. The abbot of Furness dies, March 27 (1267 ?).

Item eodem anno obiit domina Senchia, uxor domini Ricardi regis Alemanniæ, quæ fuit filia comitis de Sancto Egidio. Comes quidem ille de Sancto Egideo tres habuit filias, quarum primam duxit rex Franciæ; secundam Henricus rex Angliæ; tertiam Ricardus rex Alemanniæ, frater dicti regis Henrici.

Item eodem anno, vj.° kalendas Aprilis,[1] obiit piæ memoriæ dominus W. de Mideltona abbas Furnensis, qui domum suam strenue rexit xxx^{ta} annis et amplius, obiitque senex et plenus dierum. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.

ANNO M°CC°LX°VII°.

A.D. 1267.

The sub-prior of Furness is elected abbot on May 25.

In vigilia Ascensionis, scilicet die Sancti Urbani papæ et martyris, frater H. Brun, supprior Furnensis, unanimi voce et voluntate monachorum electus est et creatus in abbatem dictæ domus, præsentibus abbatibus de Cokessall, de Geravalle, de Sallay, de Caldra, auctoritate Saviniacensis abbatis illis commissa. Qui post modicum profectus est ad generale capitulum.

The legate first directs the Franciscans and Dominicans to preach a crusade.

Eodem [anno][2] legatus, præmissus[3] per universam Angliam, direxit literas et auctoritates, injungens[4] Fratribus Minoribus et Prædicatoribus, ut ubique de cruce prædicarent, quod dum facerent pæne omnes ad crucem accipiendam convolaverunt. Similiter et ipse legatus de cruce frequenter prædicabat, remissiones peccatorum et indulgentias inenarrabiles promittens. Unde rex pietate tactus cruce signatus est cum liberis suis; sed elapso aliquantulo tempore, idem legatus, considerans se diu non posse moram facere in Anglia,

He then directs that as

[1] This entry is perhaps misplaced. The 27th of March would, according to the reckoning of the year in this chronicle, be the second day in a new year, either 1266 or 1267; but the entry which follows respecting the election of a new abbot renders it probable that it should have been put under 1267.

[2] Not in MS.

[3] Thus in MS.

[4] *ingens*, MS.

iis, quibus prius mandavit ut de cruce prædicarent, directis literis, jam præcepit, ut omnes cruce signatos a voto absolverent, et crucem ab eis resumerent, solventibus singulis portionem pecuniæ secundum facultates suas pro voti redemptione, et qui pecuniam non haberent in cruce cum Domino remanentibus.[1] Imposuit etiam dictus legatus universis personis secularibus et religiosis et non exemptis exactiones et procurationes pecuniarias, contradicentes quoscunque excommunicans suspendit, aut interdicto supposuit. Habuit etiam generale concilium Londoniis[2] omnium prælatorum, religiosorum, et aliorum super articulis pluribus, qui omnes, nullo reclamante, quasi muti consentiebant[3] eidem, obligantes se ad omnia, quæcunque legatus voluerat.

A.D. 1267.

Many as possible shall redeem their vows by money.

The legate plunders the clergy.

He holds a council, which obeys his directions.

Interea universi pæne, qui prius fuerant ex parte baronum, obligaverunt se in misericordia regis, quibus ad pacem satisfactione susceptis pecuniæ, cotidianis ruinis paci repugnantes infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. Sicque pace ubique confirmata, et per cartam regis roborata,[4] directi sunt a curia regis justitiarii itinerantes, scilicet Gilbertus de Prestune et Johannes Breton et alii plures, per universum regnum Angliæ, qui statim post Natale Domini venientes apud Eboracum ibidem fere per annum sedebant.

The adherents of the barons are ruined by fines.

Justices itinerant.

Eodem anno magister Walterus Giffardus consecratus est in archiepiscopum,[5] qui successerat Godefrido de Hudeham.[6] In primo adventu suo ad sedem metropolitanam suam[7] Eboracensem, scilicet in festivitate Omnium Sanctorum, maximum fecit festum, ubi erant congregati legati cum suis et omnes nobiliores Angliæ: sed et abbas Furnesii, a capitulo rediens generali,

Consecration of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York.

His feast at York, Nov. 1.

Benediction of the

[1] *remanente*, MS.

[2] The *Annal. Winton.*, p. 106, say in April 1268.

[3] *consentiebat*, MS.

[4] The letter *i* follows and is expuncted.

[5] The date of this event is said to have been Jan. 4, 1265. The Chron. Dover. (*fo.* 48) says in 1266, "citra "Natalem Domini."

[6] Should be *Ludeham*.

[7] *suæ*, MS.

A.D. 1267.

new abbot of Furness.

dicto die ibidem a dicto archiepiscopo benedictionem debitam suscepit.

A high wind throws down churches, &c.

Eodem anno ventus magnus et validissimus fuit, qui prostravit ecclesias, domos, et turres, et campanaria ecclesiarum.

Anno M°CC°LX°VIII°.

A.D. 1268.

John of Exeter, bishop of [Winchester], dies.

Obiit Clemens papa.

Item obiit magister Johannes de Excestria episcopus Wygorniæ,[1] cui successit cancellarius regis magister Godefridus Giffard, frater germanus archiepiscopi Eboracensis.

About Aug. 15 prince Edmund passes through Furness towards St. Bees.

Eodem tempore, circa Assumptionem gloriosæ Virginis, dominus Edmundus per montana de Furnesio transivit versus sanctam Begam.

On Sept. 8 the king summons a Parliament at York.

In Nativitate vero ejusdem sanctæ Virginis tenuit rex parliamentum apud Eboracum, ubi sicut mandavit, convenerunt ipse et rex Scotiæ et reginæ utrorumque cum Edwardo et Edmundo et liberis suis. Et omnes fere nobiliores Angliæ, cum prælatis ecclesiasticis ibidem aderant, ut de regni utilitate tractarent. Sed, ut patuit in fine, summum negotium regis erat [emungere][2] bursas præsentium.

Henry Percy marries the daughter of Earl Warrenne.

A sufficient number not having assembled, the Parliament is summoned

Ibi etiam dicto tempore desponsavit Henricus de Percy filiam comitis de Warenne. Sed cum ibidem plenarie non convenissent, omnes majores Angliæ se excusaverunt.[3] Jussit rex omnibus, qui affuerunt et qui absentes erant, ut essent Lundoniis die sancti Edwardi acturi de negotiis regni. Quo tempore statuto cum venissent[4] archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, priores, et ceteri ecclesiarum rectores, cum comitibus,

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[1] This should be *Wintoniæ*: *Ann. Winton.*, 106. He is otherwise called John Gervais.

[2] A blank in the MS., evidently for a word the transcriber could not read, probably *emungere*.

[3] *excusaverant*, MS.

[4] *convenissent*, MS.

baronibus, militibus, et aliis personis innumeris, facta prædicatione de cruce, jussit rex omnes non cruce signatos crucem accipere. Postea pecuniarias exactiones imposuit singulis. Exegit enim a beneficiatis decimas a laico tenemento, pro qualibet carucata xx. *s.*, vel pro qualibet acra vj. *d.* Consulentibus principibus et fidelibus regni super his, petitæ sunt induciæ usque ad terminum congruum, quo possit satisfieri regi, concessitque rex inducias quibusdam usque ad Natale Domini, aliis autem usque ad Pascha, aliis ultra. Cystercienses quidem respondebant regi, dicentes se nihil omnino facere posse de his, quæ petiit rex, sine generali capitulo, unde concessit eis rex respectum usque ad tempus dicti capituli: sed tamen postea nihil ei fecerunt de dicta exactione, unde regem eis molestum habuerunt longo tempore.

A.D. 1268. to meet in London on Oct. 13. The king's demands.

Eodem anno, xiiij. kalendas Octobris, orta est maxima tempestas ventorum et pluviarum, et commotionum aeris in terra marique, per quam multa mala evenerunt diversis partibus. Nam domus ceciderunt; arbores eradicatæ sunt; segetes excussæ et putrefactæ sunt; et jumenta plurima mortua sunt; navesque submersæ et fractæ perierunt. Erat illo anno hiems aquosa et tempestuosa, pestilentiisque plena. Eodem anno obiit Johannes de Baylolf.[1] Item obiit Henricus abbas de Bellalanda.

Violent storm on Sept. 18.

Death of John Baliol.

Præterea in *Cœna Domini*, videlicet die sancti Benedicti abbatis,[2] submersus est dominus Michael de Furneys in sabulo de Leuene. Comederat enim cum priore de Kertmel,[3] et cum jam temulentus transire vellet cum familia sua ultra Leuene ad ma-

March 21 (1269).

[1] So also on p. 579, for *Balliolo.*

[2] The *Cœna Domini* in 1268 did not fall on 21 March, but in 1269 it did. This entry shows that the year in this part of the chronicle is from 26th March in one year to 25th March in the next.

[3] *Kertiuel*, MS.

nerium suum de Aldingham, ceteris vix evadentibus, ipse solus periit, nec unquam postea inventus est. [Furness Chronicle.]

ANNO M°CC°LX°IX°.

A.D. 1269.

The Translation of Edward the Confessor, Oct. 13.

Eodem anno citavit rex omnes magnates Angliæ, ut convenirent apud Westmonasterium Londoniis a festo sancti Edwardi. Quo cum venissent[1] dicto die cum magna gloria et sollemnitate translatus sanctus Edwardus et positus est in feretrum novum, miro opere fabricatum, ac gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis ornatum, præsentibus archiepiscopis et episcopis et aliis de clero et populo innumerabilibus.

The king [of France]

Eodem tempore rex [Franciæ],[2] Edwardus, et Edmundus et filii sui, et omnes fere nobiliores Angliæ,

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A.D. 1269.

ANNO M°CC°LX°IX°.

A festo sancti Michaelis fere usque ad nativitatem sancti Johannis Baptistæ vicesima assisa domino regi concessa fuit per totam Angliam.

A.D. 1270.

ANNO M°CC°LXX°.

Obiit dominus Bonefacius archiepiscopus Cantuariæ post Pascha in transmarinis partibus.

Eodem anno intravit conventus de Stanleye in Wiltescira novum refectorium, scilicet die beati Johannis Baptistæ. [Stanley Chronicle.]

Prince Edward leaves for the Holy Land.

Item eodem anno, circa festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, dominus Edwardus primogenitus regis Henrici iter arripuit versus Terram Sanctam cum exercitu suo.

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[1] *convenirent*, MS. | [2] *Franciæ*, not in MS.

[Furness Chronicle.] sacramento astrinxerunt se ituros in Terram Sanctam anno sequenti. Rex siquidem cum exactionem anni preteriti totaliter ab omnibus perquirere non posset, a pluribus [vi eam][1] extorsit. Item aliam exactionem imposuit universæ Angliæ: exegit enim ab universis sine exceptione vicesimum denarium, et statim direxit, hujus rei causa,[2] ministros ubique literis suis munitos, qui, singulorum facultatibus æstimatis, omnes ad dictæ pecuniæ solutionem compellerent. Cysterciensium quidem[3] facultates ut ceterorum æstimabantur; sed violentiam solvendi nemo fecit eisdem.

A.D. 1269. — and the English princes take the cross. The king exacts the twentieth penny.

Item ecclesia Romana vacat[4] adhuc propter dissensionem cardinalium. Eodem tempore scilicet dominica in Ramis Palmarum rex Franciæ, disposito regno suo, cum familia et exercitu magno nimis, versus Terram Sanctam profectus est.[5]

The papal chair is vacant. The king of France sets out for the East on April 6 (1270).

Item eodem anno Lodowicus rex Franciæ, una cum Johanne filio suo, obiit in itinere versus Terram Sanctam.

[Stanley Chronicle.] Eodem anno, scilicet kalendis Octobris, fuit eclipsis lunæ valde horribilis, quia apparuit sanguineo rubore perfusa; deindè, nigredine subsequente, fuit fere tota cooperta dicta nigredine per spatium dimidiæ horæ; deinde crescendo paulatim ad lucem propriam reversa est.

Eclipse of the moon, Oct. 1.

Item eodem anno rex, die sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi, convocare fecit xij. liberos homines fere de quolibet hundredo Wiltesiræ et in capitulo Sarum fidelitatem jurare Edwardo primogenito suo, et etiam Johanni de Windlesores primogenito dicti Edwardi.

Representatives from the hundreds assemble to swear allegiance to Edward and his son, Nov. 16.

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[1] Should *perhaps* be *vi eam*. See *violentiam solvendi* on line 10. The MS. has *eī eū* (*enim eum*) which is not sense.

[2] *causam*, MS.

[3] *quidam*, MS.

[4] As a pope was elected 1 Sept. 1271, a limiting date for the composition of this part of the chronicle is here supplied.

[5] *prosecutus est*, MS.

ANNO M°CC°LXX°.

A.D. 1270.

Prince Edward leaves for the East about July 22.

[Obiit][1] Bonefacius archiepiscopus Cantuariæ post Pascha in transmarinis partibus. Eodem anno profectus est dominus Edwardus primogenitus regis Angliæ, versus Terram Sanctam, circa festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, cum magna et nobili militia, ac reliquit custodes sui[2] regni Walterum Giffard archiepiscopum Eboracensem, et regem Alemanniæ Ricardum avunculum suum, Robertum Burnel cancellarium suum; in quorum etiam custodiam demisit[3] Johannem primogenitum suum, et sic cum magno comitatu profectus est. [Furness Chronicle.]

Tunc etiam juraverunt dominus Edmundus et comes Gloucestriæ sequenti Quadragesima se ituros post dominum Edwardum in Terram Sanctam.

Sedes autem Romana fere per triennium jam vacavit.

Death of Walter de la Wyle, bishop of Salisbury. Robert de Wickhampton, his successor, elected, Feb. 23 (1271). Henry, son of Richard king of the Romans, killed, about March 12.

Eodem modo fecerunt liberi per alios' comitatus Angliæ.

Item eodem anno in octabis sancti Johannis Evangelistæ obiit dominus Walterus de la Wile episcopus Sarum. [Stanley Chronicle.]

Eodem anno, in crastino Sancti Petri in Cathedra,[4] electus est in episcopum Sarum magister Robertus de Wichamtune decanus ejusdem ecclesiæ.

Eodem anno, circa festum beati Gregorii, occisus est dominus Henricus filius domini Ricardi regis Alemanniæ in transmarinis partibus.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC°LXX°I°.[5]

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[1] F. omits *obiit* and indicates no break between *partibus* and *eodem*.

[2] *suorum*, MS.

[3] *custodia dimisit*, MS.

[4] This entry clearly shows that the year of this chronicle begins on March 26 and ends on March 25.

[5] The Stanley Chronicle ends with this date.

[Furness Chronicle.]

A.D. 1270.

Interea mortuus est rex Franciæ in terra paganorum, quæ dicitur Tunicia, prope Cartaginem, in itinere versus Terram Sanctam, obiitque cum eo Johannes filius suus. Cui successit primogenitus suus Philippus, [qui][1] consilio totius exercitus statim post obitum patris coronatus est.

Death of the king of France at Tunis. Accession of Philip III.

Eo tempore facta est guerra magna in Hybernia inter Anglicos et Hybernicos, domino Jacobo de Anidhelay[2] justitiario Hyberniæ ducatum Anglicis præstante, cum domino Waltero de Burgo comite Wltoniæ et ceteris magnatibus Hyberniæ. Illo anno postea, scilicet kalendis Octobris, fuit eclipsis lunæ valde horribilis, quia apparuit sanguineo rubore perfusa; deinde nigredine subsequente, fuit fere tota cooperta dicta nigredine per spatium dimidiæ horæ; deinde crescente[3] paulatim ad lucem propriam reversa est.

Warfare in Ireland.

An eclipse of the moon on Oct. 1.

Item eodem anno rex, die sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, convocare fecit xij. liberos homines fere de quolibet hundredo Wiltesiræ, et in capitulo Saresburiæ fidelitatem jurare Edwardo primogenito suo, et etiam Johanni de Windesor, primogenito domini Edwardi. Eodem modo fecerunt liberi per alios comitatus Angliæ.

On 16 Nov. representatives from Wiltshire swear fealty to prince Edward.

A similar course taken in other counties.

In anno illo erat hiems asperrima et durissima.

Præterea in octavis sancti Johannis Evangelistæ obiit dominus Walterus de la Wike episcopus Saresburiæ.[4] Cui successit magister Robertus de Wichamptone, decanus ejusdem ecclesiæ.

Death of Walter de la Wyle, bishop of Salisbury, Jan. 3 [1271].

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[1] *qui*, not in MS.

[2] See under year 1272.

[3] Thus in MS., imperfectly copying the Stanley chronicle. See p. 557.

[4] In the *Annal. Winton.* (p. 110) the date is 1271. The *Chron. Dover.*, *fo.* 49, says that the election of Robert of Wickhampton took place in 1270. The events which follow here in the text all belong to 1271: hence it appears that the Furness monk is only following the 13th century custom by including events up to 25th March 1271 in his year 1270. Cf. *Contin. Flor. Wigorn.*, ii. p. 206.

A.D. 1270. After Feb. 2 [1271] prince Edmund sets out for the East. Post Purificationem quidem Beatæ Mariæ dominus Edmundus, dispositis terris suis, profectus est post fratrem suum versus Terram Sanctam, secundum quod vovit et juravit, magnatibus et militibus cum eo comitantibus.

Henry, son of Richard king of the Romans, is murdered at Viterbo about March 12 [1271]. Interea dominus Henricus, filius Ricardi regis Alemanniæ, veniens ad mare Græcum, causa infirmitatis licentiatus a domino Edwardo, rediit versus Angliam, cumque circa festum beati Gregorii venisset in partes Italiæ ad civitatem quæ dicitur Viterbi, præoccupatus est et interemptus a cognatis suis, scilicet Guidone et Symone de Monteforti, in ultionem patris sui, domini Symonis comitis Laycestriæ, qui occisus fuit in bello de Evesham in Anglia.

ANNO M°CC°LXX°I°.

A.D. 1271. A famine in England. Pestilence, famine, and war in Ireland. Facta est magna fames per universam Angliam et maxime partibus occidentalibus. In Hibernia vero tres pestes invaluerunt, scilicet mortalitas, fames, et gladius: per guerram mortalem prævalentibus Hybernicis et Anglicis succumbentibus. Qui vero gladium et famem evadere potuerunt, peste mortalitatis præventi sunt, ita ut vivi mortuis sepeliendis vix sufficere valerent.

Eodem tempore archiepiscopus Dubliniæ[1] et Walterus de Burgo comes Ultoniæ[2] mortui sunt in Hybernia.

Item obiit magister Simon de Evesham archidiaconus Richemundiæ.

Death of John, son of prince Edward. Item mortuus est Johannes domini Edwardi primogenitus.

Die siquidem Sancti Agapiti martyris facta sunt tonitrua et fulgura horribilia, qua tempestate unus puer et una vacca et duo vituli fulmine percussa perierunt simul in uno loco de Wanegia.

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[1] *Fulco Basset*, in margin of MS. in another hand.

[2] *Id est Vluester*, in margin of MS. in another hand.

Interim vero archidiaconus Laodicensis,[1] exsistens in villa de Acres in Terra Sancta cum domino Edwardo, electus est in papam: pro quo statim sollemnes nuntii diriguntur, ac postea, die sanctæ Scolasticæ virginis, prædictus electus consecratus est in summum pontificem, ac Gregorius decimus denominatus est. De quo Johannes episcopus Portuensis, Albus cardinalis, publice prædicando coram cardinalibus dixit:— A.D. 1271. Consecration of pope Gregory X., Feb. 10.

Fertur per saltum noster Theodaldus in altum:
Invidia fratrum fit pater ille patrum.

In die vero sancti Mauricii mare intumescens terminos suos transgrediebatur valde, opera hominum laboriosa consumens subito, ac labores multos posteris indicens. Influx of the sea on Sept. 21.

Eo tempore singulis abbatibus venientibus ad capitulum Cistercii dabantur decem marcæ, ex testamento domini Bonefacii archiepiscopi Cantuariensis anno præcedenti jam defuncti. Ubi convenerunt abbates anno illo quadringenti et amplius.

Postea vero, in crastino Purificationis beatæ Mariæ, venerunt justitiarii itinerantes apud Lancastriam, ubi abbas Furnensis primus justitiarius assignatus fuit; sed ipse procuravit se amoveri per literas domini regis; quod et factum est. Ceteri justitiarii erant dominus Walterus de Elyun, Johannes de Egetona, Petrus de . . . bus, qui tamen[2] omnia faciebant cum consilio dicti abbatis. The itinerant justices hold assizes at Lancaster, Feb. 3 (1272?).

Eodem anno vulneratus fuit dominus Edwardus[3] in Terra Sancta, in villa de Acres, a nuntio soldani ad hoc idem destinato, cum quodam cultello venenato. Primo quidem dictus nuntius habuit se ut histrio, Attempt to assassinate prince Edward at Acre.

[1] Thibaud Visdomini, archdeacon of Liège. The dates as given by Sir Harris Nicolas are: election, 1 Sept. 1271; consecration, 27 Jan. 1272

[2] The burning of the margin of the MS. renders the reading from *Petrus* to *tamen* doubtful.

[3] This was in 1272.

A.D. 1271. quousque tempus opportunum haberet perficiendi quod animo conceperat, et ad quod missus fuerat. Cum ergo quadam die solus solum inveniret dominum Edwardum, sedentem super lectum suum in camera sua, æstimans se de facili virum improvisum confundere, dicto cultello subito tota vi aggressus est ipsum, vulnerans bis vel ter in pectore et in scapulis priusquam dictus dominus Edwardus se posset erigere, eo quod nihil mali tunc speraret. Tandem erectus viriliter a pagano cultellum extorsit, ipsum proprio cultello mactans et excerebrans[1] antequam aliquis eidem venisset in auxilium: postea vero de vulneribus suis, licet cum magna difficultate, mirabiliter tamen et perfecte curatus est.

A.D. 1272.

Anno Domini M°CC°LXX°II°.

War in Ireland.

Prævaluit adhuc in Hybernia hostilis guerra, unde justitiarius, Jacobus scilicet de Andithelay, quadam die, belli magno infortunio, cecidit inter suos, et a suis ignoranter conculcatus est. Quibus fugientibus, cum invenissent Hibernici corpus ejus decapitaverunt eum, et membris detruncatis, corpus reliquerunt truncum.

Death of Richard, king of the Romans.

Eo tempore mortui sunt de curia domini regis Angliæ rex Alemanniæ Ricardus, Philippus Basset,[2] Walterus de Mertune cancellarius.[3]

June 26. Postea vero die sanctorum Johannis et Pauli ad vigilias[4] facta sunt tonitrua magna et terribiles coruscationes.

June 29. Item in sequenti festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli pæne per totam noctem erat terribilis tempestas in tonitruo et fulgure.

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[1] The margin is burned away, and the measures taken to repair it have rendered the reading doubtful.

[2] The *Annal. Winton.*, p. 111, say in October 1271.

[3] The *Annal. Winton.*, p. 124, rightly say in 1277, an extraordinary discrepancy.

[4] The margin has suffered here.

Eo anno fuit æstas valde sicca, plenaque messis circa festum sancti Petri ad Vincula; sed tempestas ventorum valde nociva erat in autumno sequenti, excutiens fructus et blada. A.D. 1272. Aug. 1.

Item obiit dominus Petrus de Brus.

Interea quidam maleficus, nomine Walterus Devias, ducens exercitum aliquando equitum, quandoque peditum, et manifesta exercens latrocinia in villis, civitatibus [et][1] burgis, ac religiosis et aliis multis infestus, tandem cum pluribus ex complicibus suis captus est et decollatus. Walter Devias, a freebooter, is caught and executed.

His gestis, celebris memoriæ rex Angliæ Henricus obiit, die sancti Edmundi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, in civitate sua Lundonia,[2] anno regni sui lvj. Qui fuit optimus Dei cultor, ecclesiæ sanctæ et divinorum officiorum devotus zelator, clementissimus populi rector, pacis æquitatisque[3] executor et amator. Regnavit autem lv. annis et viginti diebus, fuitque in Anglia omnibus diebus vitæ ejus abundantia pacis atque lætitiæ. Conditusque est honorifice, sicut decuit talem principem, apud Westmonasterium, die sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, juxta sepulchrum sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, quem miro semper affectu coluit, ac prædictos sanctos[4] præcipuo cultu honoravit. Itaque senex et plenus dierum obiit, dies suos complens in bono et annos suos in gloria, filiis tunc longe a se in peregrinatione distantibus, diadema regni cum regalibus disponere committens, corpus terræ, spiritum Divinæ clementiæ reddidit. Death of King Henry III., Nov. 16. His burial, Nov. 20.

Statim igitur postea convenerunt custodes regni et magnates, scilicet archiepiscopus Eboracensis (nondum habebat Cantuariensis ecclesia pastorem) et alii episcopi, ac comites de Gloucestria, Cornubia, de Warennia, et Robertus Burnel cancellarius domini Edwardi, et The bishops and barons meet and swear fealty to Edward,

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[1] The reading of the MS. is, *in villis, in civitatibus, burgis,* &c.

[2] At Bury St. Edmunds.

[3] The reading of the MS. is, *pacisque, æquitatis,* &c.

[4] *prædictis sanctis,* MS.

A.D. 1272. alii multi, clerici et laici, [qui], tactis sacrosanctis, juraverunt fidelitatem domino Edwardo, quod fideliter servarent regnum usque ad ejus adventum: moxque clamata est pax in nomine[1] suo, ac literis ejus sigillo signatis per universam Angliam directis, sub periculo vitæ, membrorum, exheredationis. Cessavit curia de literis interim impetrandis et placitis. Regina vero recepit se in Turrem de[2] Lundoniis: interea dominus Edmundus, de Terra Sancta rediens, exstitit in Francia, ac in sequenti Adventu Domini prospere applicuit in Angliam. Dominus autem Edwardus in redeundo versus propria exstitit apud Romam in sequenti Quadragesima ad Stationes.[3]

proclaiming the king's peace.

The queen goes to London. Prince Edmund reaches England, Nov. 27. Edward in Rome during Lent (1273).

Robert earl Ferrers seizes and holds Chartley Castle, belonging to prince Edmund.

Interim dominus Robertus comes de Ferre[r]s misit se in castrum de Chertelay, quod erat domini Edmundi: siquidem dominus Henricus omnes terras et oppida dicti comitis dedit Edmundo filio suo post bellum de Evesham, quia dictus comes repugnabat contra dominum suum regem. Igitur dictus comes, ejectis[4] hominibus domini Edmundi, se in dicto castro de Chertelay retinuit. Quibus auditis, dominus Edmundus cum exercitu suo castrum illud obsedit. Tandem comes obsidionem non fe[rens, se et castr]um,[5] domino Edmundo reddidit, qui comitem honorifice [suscipiens][6] vel castrum postea sicut prius possedit et tenuit.

The earl surrenders.

Robert Kilwardby elected archbishop of Canterbury.

Interea prior Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ,[7] electus in archiepiscopum, cassatus est in curia Romana, et quidam frater de ordine Prædicatorum, nomine Robertus de Kiluardby,[8] per collationem domini papæ

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[1] *morte*, MS. ?

[2] The margin having been burned, the reading is uncertain. The form "turrem" seems to be used.

[3] As to this word see Ducange.

[4] *erectis*, MS.

[5] The MS. is charred about this point.

[6] The sentence is incomplete. Perhaps in the original memoranda *ille* stood where *vel* now stands.

[7] Adam Chillenden. *Contin. Gerv.*, ii. 253.

[8] Thus below. Here it is Kilūby.

substitutus est in archiepiscopum Cantuariæ et consecratus.[1] A.D. 1272.

Item obiit Guido cardinalis, quondam abbas Cystercii.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC°LXX°III°.

Dominus Galfridus de Genevile, rediens a domino Edwardo, factus est custos totius Hyberniæ. A.D. 1273.

Geoffrey de Genevill made king's lieutenant of Ireland.

Interea dominus Edwardus rediens de Terra Sancta venit in Franciam, ac[2] rex Franciæ apud Parisius suscepit eum cum magno honore et gloria: ubi moram aliquamdiu fecit. Postea vero profectus est ad . . . . . et sic[3] in Vasconiam terram suam, ad subjugandum quosdam seditiosos et repugnantes sibi. Quibus in brevi subjugatis, aliis crudeli morte peremptis, incarceratis aliis [vel] in exsilium[4] damnatis, circa partes illas hiemavit. Disposuit itaque venire in Angliam ad sequens[5] Pascha, sed orta est contentio gravis inter ipsum et quendam magnum de transmarinis partibus, nomine Gaston de Berne, ob cujus superbiam domandam ibidem moram traxit usque ad autumnum sequentem.

Edward's return from the crusade.

Stays to put down Gaston de Béarn.

Eo tempore abbas Furnesii prosecutus[6] est ad Cistercium per Normanniam et Saviniacum. Rediens autem in Furnesio laboravit febre quartana, qua pœna[7] vexatus est ad mortem.

Eodem anno fuit Albus cardinalis dominus[8] J[ohannes] Portuensis episcopus ad capitulum Cystercii. Isto anno maxima fertilitate fructificabant arbores silvestres, abundabantque nuces et glandes fere per totum annum sequentem.

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[1] *consecratum*, MS.

[2] *at*, MS.

[3] The margin of the text is burned away.

[4] *in exsilio*, MS. omitting *vel*.

[5] *se ruens* (sic), MS.

[6] Thus MS., probably for *profectus*.

[7] *pæne?*

[8] The charred state of the margin renders the reading dubious.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC°LXX°IIII°.

A.D. 1274.

Council of Lyons.

Celebratum est concilium generale apud Lugdunum, præsidente papa Gregorio decimo: ubi plures episcopi convenerunt de universis terris. De Anglia ibidem aderant archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Eboracensis, et ceteri episcopi Angliæ fere universi.

Suppression of smaller mendicant orders.

In eodem concilio quassabantur omnes ordines mendicantes præter Fratres Prædicatores et Minores, [ita] ut viginti duæ variæ religiones adinventæ cessarent, transferentes se ad alias religiones approbatas. Quidam tamen elegerunt mori magis in habitu suo, quod eisdem permissum est, ita tamen quod[1] nullus ad habitum eorum in posterum reciperetur.[2] Statutum est etiam in eodem concilio, ut per sex annos sequentes continuos decima daretur ab universis prælatis et viris ecclesiasticis de omnibus proventibus et redditibus suis ad subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, et ad idem negotium tanto tempore de universis et de omnibus laicis capitale denarium solveretur.

The prelates return from the council about Aug. 1.

Circa festum beati Petri ad Vincula redibant archiepiscopi et episcopi de concilio.

The king returns about the same date.

Eodem tempore dominus rex Edwardus, de peregrinatione Terræ Sanctæ rediens, applicuit prospere in[3] Angliam cum universis ad se pertinentibus, uxore et liberis et omnibus rebus suis, et perrexit ei obviam mater sua regina Alienora, et frater suus Edmundus, et plures comites et magnates Angliæ, quem cum maximo gaudio [et][1] honore suscipientes deduxerunt ad sedem regni sui Lundoniis, ac postea, in dominica infra octabas Assumptionis gloriosæ Virginis, coronatus est apud Westmonasterium a fratre Roberto de Kyluardby archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, præsentibus rege Scotiæ Alexandro et uxore sua, sorore videlicet regis Edwardi, cum archiepiscopo Eboracensi et aliis

Coronation, Aug. 19.

[1] *tamen quod?* An alteration is burned away.

[2] *recipietur*, MS.

[3] *per*, MS.

[1] *et*, not in MS.

episcopis Angliæ, et omnibus fere comitibus et baronibus, et etiam quibusdam magnatibus de partibus transmarinis, et aliis multis, quorum non erat numerus. Qui omnes fidelitatem regi[1] jurabant. Nec fuit unquam tale festum in Anglia, ut dicitur, quale tunc agebatur in coronatione regis. A.D. 1274.

Ipse quidem rex, sumpto diademate, justitiam ubique teneri jussit; omnino nulli parcendo, milites et magnos morte dignos suspendi præcepit; justiciariis, ballivis, vicecomitibus munera accipere prohibuit.

Tunc Robertus Burnel factus est cancellarius curiæ, qui prius exstitit cancellarius domini Edwardi.

Robert Burnell is appointed chancellor.

Interim archiepiscopus[2] Casselensis, rediens de concilio, venit ad capitulum Cystercii. Quo procurante revocata est paternitas abbatum Hyberniæ ad antiquum statum, et sic itur in antiquam silvam.

Eo tempore domina et heres de Aumarle,[3] scilicet uxor domini Edmundi, sine liberis obiit.

Prince Edmund's wife dies.

Item obiit Robertus de Schehil[4] episcopus Dunolmensis, qui fuit prior de Fincal. Cui successit iterum in episcopatum, qui eidem successerat in prioratum, nomine Robertus de Alieland.

Robert de Insula succeeds Robert Stitchell as bishop of Durham.

In tempore illo Reginaldus abbas de Fontibus in redeundo de capitulo generali mortuus est in partibus australibus, et delatus est ad domum suam.

Death of Reginald, abbot of Fountains.

Interea missi sunt a rege Angliæ inquisitores per universos comitatus ad inquirendum de justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ballivis, et quibuscunque malefactoribus etiam injuriantibus.[5] Fueruntque apud Lancastriam die Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, ubi multi de damnis et injuriis sibi illatis conquesti sunt.

A commission of enquiry into the conduct of justices, sheriffs, &c. sits at Lancaster, Nov. 20.

[1] *regni*, MS.

[2] *archiepiscopi*, MS.

[3] Aveline, daughter and heiress of William de Fortibus.

[4] Robert Stitchell, formerly prior of Finchale, died 4 Aug. 1274, and was succeeded by Robert de Insula.

[5] See Pat. Roll 2 Edw. I. *m.* 6.

A.D. 1274. Death of Prince Henry. Eo tempore mortuus est Henricus, filius regis secundus. Adhuc superest[1] unus qui natus est ei in peregrinatione Ierosolimitana, qui vocatur Alfunsus.

Death of Margaret, queen of Scotland [1275]. Item obiit Margareta regina Scotiæ.

Richard, bishop of Man, buried at Furness Abbey, March 25 [1275?]. Item [obiit][2] Ricardus, episcopus Manniæ et Insularum,[3] et intumulatus fuit in abbatia de Furnesio, in die Annunciationis beatæ Virginis.

Anno Domini M°CC°LXX°V°.

A.D. 1275. Robertus Burnel cancellarius Angliæ factus est episcopus Bathoniæ.

A Parliament in London, April 21. Igitur in octavis Paschæ rex Angliæ, coadunatis omnibus magnatibus terræ apud Londonias, statuit quasdam leges novas et utiles valde, et antiquas, A second Parliament in London, after Sept. 29. quæ bonæ erant, renovavit, [et jussit omnes][4] interesse apud Londoniam post festum sancti Michaelis, ut prædictæ leges confirmarentur, et super aliis negotiis tractaretur.

The pope sends to collect money for a crusade. Interim constituti sunt a domino papa collectores decimarum per universam terram, nam decretum fuit anno [præterito][5] in concilio generali apud Lugdunum, ut omnes ecclesiasticæ personæ, cujuscunque dignitatis, et etiam religiosi, exempti et non exempti, præter Cistercienses, de omnibus decimis, proventibus, redditibus, decimas fideliter sub pœna excommunicationis domino papæ per vj annos subsequentes, in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, sine ulla contradictione solverent, et

[1] One of the expressions which mark the generally contemporary character of this chronicle. Compare *Ann. de Waverl.*, p. 385.

[2] *obiit*, om. MS. This event probably belongs to the *historical* year 1275.

[3] *Mannæ et insilvarum et intimulatus fuit*, MS.

[4] The sentence is incomplete without these or similar words.

[5] *præterito*, not in MS.

laici universaliter capitalem denarium ad idem negotium tanto tempore darent. A.D. 1275.

Insuper mandavit papa universis prælatis et prædicatoribus, ut ubicunque de cruce prædicarent, et omnes cruce signarentur, vel aliquid secundum facultatem substantiæ suæ ad subsidium Terræ Sanctæ darent. Cistercienses vero pro suo ordine de prædictis decimis composuere, nec involuti sunt cum ceteris.

Interea abbas Furnensis, adiens regem Scotiæ, prosequebatur jus suum de electione episcopatus Manniæ. Rex autem Scotiæ curialiter abbatem suscipiens, et fallacibus promissionibus decipiens, subdole et fraudulenter mandavit præcise clero et populo Manniæ, sub gravi periculo, ne quenquam electum per abbatem et conventum Furnesii recipere auderent. Interim clerus et populus Manniæ, convenientes de electione episcopi, concorditer elegerunt dominum Gilbertum abbatem de Russin, quem rex Scotiæ contra canones quassavit, ac intrusit quendam magistrum, Marcum nomine, germanum ballivi Manniæ, statimque eundem, cum literis suis et literis extortis a clero et populo cum sigillis suis, destinavit usque ad Norwagiam, ad metropolitanum suum Nidrosiensem archiepiscopum, ut consecraretur. Sed quid inde factum sit nondum scitur.[1]

The abbot of Furness negotiates with the king of Scotland as to the right of electing the bishop of Man.

Alexander III. intrudes a candidate of his own, and sends him to the archbishop of Trondjem for consecration.

Eo anno dominus Edmundus, germanus regis Angliæ, profectus est ad partes transmarinas, ubi moram aliquamdiu traxit, duxitque uxorem, reginam scilicet Navariæ, rege videlicet Navariæ, marito suo, jam defuncto.

Prince Edmund marries the widow of the king of Navarre.

His gestis obiit Johannes[2] episcopus Portuensis, Albus cardinalis, qui murus exstitit impenetrabilis pro domo Domini, præcipue Cisterciensis ecclesiæ. Stetit namque in curia pæne lx. annis.

In mense vero Septembri, celebratione ordinum facta per Walterum archiepiscopum Eboracensem apud Al-

An ordination at Alverton in Sept.

[1] An evidence of contemporary composition.

[2] John of Toledo, bishop of Porto, SS. Ruffina and Seconda and Selva Candida. Moroni, *Dizion. Eccles.* liv. p. 227.

A.D. 1275. verton, prior Furnensis, cum multis monachis ad diversos ordines promovendis, exstitit ibidem.

Godfrey, a son of Magnus, the last king of Man, comes with ships to the island.

Eo tempore Godefridus filius Magni quondam regis Manniæ, non tamen legitimus, cum aliquantis navibus applicuit in Manniam. Rex autem Norwagiæ post mortem prædicti Magni, qui ultimo regnavit in Mannia[1] et in insulis ceteris, jam regi Scotiæ et heredibus suis Manniam cum insulis inperpetuum vendiderat. Godefridus igitur cum in Manniam venisset, quidam de populo, congaudentes de adventu ejus, susceperunt eum, quidam vero tergiversantes doluerunt; sed in brevi omnes sibi timore et amore subjugavit, qui tandem universaliter et unanimiter eum sibi principem statuerunt. Veniens igitur ad castrum cepit id,[2] nam fugerant custodes, ibidemque commorans disposuit de regno ad libitum suum. Audiens autem rex Scotiæ populum Manniæ in unum convenire cum Godredo, ipsumque ut regem dominari in terra, iratusque valde, congregari fecit de Galwagia et insulis plusquam naves nonaginta cum exercitu magno; fueruntque duces exercitus Johannes de Vescy, baro magnus de Anglia, Johannes Cumin justitiarius Walwagiæ, Alanus filius comitis, Alexander filius Johannis de Argayle, et Alanus filius Rotheri. Applicuerunt igitur in Manniam prædicti cum navibus et exercitibus suis ad destruendam insulam; sed et Mannenses, licet inferiores viribus et [armis], nunc parabant se ad defendendum. Commisso ergo prœlio, Mannenses inermes et nudi, fundibalariis, balistariis, sagittariis, armatisque non valentes resistere, cum Godredo rege suo fugerunt, ac ceteri insequentes prostraverunt et occiderunt homines et jumenta, quotquot comprehendere potuerunt, loco vel sexui non parcentes. Godredus vero cum uxore sua et aliquantis ex suis evasit, fugiens in Walliam. Abbatiam quidem de Russin et monachos hostes prædicti spoliaverunt, et pæne nudos dimiserunt; omnesque nobiliores et capi-

He is received as king.

The king of Scotland assembles a fleet for the invasion of the island.

A battle is fought and the Manx army defeated.

The Scotch plunder the Abbey of Russin, and slay

[1] *Manniam*, MS. | [2] *eum*, MS.

tanei, et etiam ceteri de populo, quorum nullus certum numerum novit, tempore illo miserabiliter corruerunt. Sicque demolita atque spoliata terra, recesserunt exercitus redeuntes ad propria.

A.D. 1275.

many of the inhabitants of the island.

Eo anno fuit magna fertilitas frumenti in Hybernia.

Interea rex Angliæ, mense Octobri, congregatis universis nobilioribus et prælatis regni, leges datas et habitas confirmavit, et quasdam addidit, ac inter alia statuit, ut usuræ cessarent, et Judæi et alii usurarii negotiando et terras colendo sibi providerent.

A Parliament in October.

Eodem anno ab universo clero et populo, nullis exceptis præter Cistercienses, concessa est regi quinta decima pars omnium bonorum mobilium per universam Angliam, nullo reclamante sed unanimiter consentiente,[1] statimque assignati sunt taxatores et collectores. Primusque terminus solvendæ statutus est ad Penthecosten anni sequentis, ita tamen ut nullus minus quam xv. solidos habens taxaretur.

A fifteenth is granted to the king.

Post Natale Domini abbas Furnensis cum primis abbatibus de ordine Cistercii profecti sunt ad regem apud Wintoniam, ubi regi compromiserunt pro universitate ordinis sui in Anglia mille libras, quam oblationem multum acceptavit rex, dimittens eos cum favore et honore, deditque eisdem duos largos terminos de solutione facienda. Primus vero terminus est[2] ad Natale Domini in anno Domini M°CC°LXX°VI° ; secundus vero terminus est in festo sancti Michaelis anno M°CC°LXX°VII°.

The Cistercians compound with the king for their share of the taxation.

Eo tempore obiit Gregorius papa x^us, qui præfuit sedi fere annis v. Cui successit Petrus episcopus Hostiensis de ordine Prædicatorum, qui denominatus est Innocentius. Item obiit Johannes filius Johannis, unus ex primis consiliariis regis. His diebus dicebantur crebra fieri miracula ad tumbam beati Henrici regis. Et apud Houden erat frequens concursus popu-

Death of Gregory X. (Jan. 10, 1276).

Election of Innocent V.

Miracles at King Henry's tomb are reported.

[1] Sic MS.

[2] The tense is noteworthy.

A.D. 1275. lorum ob multa miracula quæ fiebant ibidem ad sepulchrum sancti Johannis, qui nuper obiit habens portionem quandam in ecclesia de Houeden. Theologus etiam fuit oriundus Londoniis, habebaturque despectus in vita sua. Referebatur etiam de eo quoddam mirabile factum per quod innotuit populo. Cum enim corpus ejus jaceret in feretro patenter in ecclesia, et cantaretur missa pro eo antequam humaretur, in elevatione Hostiæ ad missam et ipse defunctus manus suas versus corpus Domini elevavit, ut mos est, ac, dimissa Hostia, deposuit et ipse manus suas,[1] quo prius fuerunt.[2]

A miracle at Howden.

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Anno gratiæ M°CC° nonagesimo.[3]

A.D. 1290. Dominus Johannes de Kirk[eby][4] episcopus Eliensis et thesaurarius domini regis Edwardi principalis obiit. Cui successit in episcopatum magister W[illelmus] de Marchia, tunc thesaurarius de Garderoba prædicti regis. Eodem anno desponsata est domina Johanna de Acres, filia domini regis, G[ilberto] comiti Gloucestriæ. Per lapsum vero temporis ejusdem anni nupsit quædam alia ejusdem regis filia filio ducis Brabanum.[5]

Marriage of two of the king's daughters.

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[1] A somewhat similar story is told as to Simon de Montfort's hands. Cf. Tertull. *De Anima* § 51.

[2] The history for the year 1275 breaks off thus, but in the MS. itself there is no outward sign of incompleteness. There is no gap in the column, and no change of hand or difference in the colour of the ink. The scribe, obviously the same man, begins what he carelessly takes to be the entry for A.D. 1291 with a coloured capital, and continues his work as though entirely unconscious of having passed over 14 years of the narrative.

[3] *nonagesimo primo* in the MS.; an obvious error, as the events which follow as far as p. 574 belong to 1290.

[4] *Kirk'*, MS.

[5] John, son of the duke of Brabant, was married to Margaret, the king's daughter. *Annal. Waverl.*, p. 409.

A.D. 1290.

Celebratis itaque utrarumque regis filiarum nuptiis et sollemniter peractis, citare fecit dominus rex omnes majores natu totius Angliæ, ut convenirent apud Westmonasterium ad parliamentum, in quo exegit quintam decimam omnium bonorum mobilium totius Angliæ, tam religiosorum quam secularium, quæ quidem sibi liberaliter est concessa, nullo reclamante. Concesserunt insuper eidem venerabiles patres Cantuariensis et Eboracensis archiepiscopi, ad ipsius instantiam, decimam universorum et singulorum beneficiatorum. Obtenta igitur petitione sua in præmissis, jussit duos milites constitui per singulos comitatus ad bona mobilia taxanda, et quintam decimam colligendam et recipiendam, et collectam ad scaccarium Westmonasterii ad duos anni terminos fideliter persolvendam, videlicet medietatem ad Pascha anno gratiæ M°CC° nonagesimo primo, et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis ejusdem anni: qui[1] quidem milites taxatores bini per singulos comitatus constituti[2] universorum et singulorum bona mobilia taxari fecerunt, nihil intaxatum remittentes. Cistercienses autem ob duritiam taxantium et malitiam cum vulgo taxari præcaventes, convocatione facta apud Wardoun, quatuor abbates provinciæ Cantuariensis, communi auctoritate munitos, secundum quod melius decreverint aut Deus eis inspiraverit, pro quinta decima communitatem ordinis tangente cum domino rege composituros, ad curiam transmiserunt. Qui cum eodem pro duabus millibus marcis pro communitate ordinis, tam monialium quam monachorum, composuerunt, ad quam summam quadripartite[3] æqualiter solvendam concessit eisdem quatuor largos terminos, videlicet Pascha in anno gratiæ M°CC° nonagesimo primo, et festum sancti Michaelis proximum sequens, et eosdem terminos in anno gratiæ

A Parliament held at Westminster.

A fifteenth is granted to the king.

The Cistercians offer a composition, which is accepted by the king.

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[1] *quia*, MS.
[2] *constitui*, MS
[3] *quadripartiti*, MS.

A.D. 1290. M°CC° nonagesimo ij°. Tertia quidem pars pecuniæ prædictæ, videlicet DCLXVI. marcæ viij. solidi et x. denarii, imposita fuit abbatibus et monialibus Eboracensis diœcesis, et decem libræ pro tertia parte expensarum dictorum abbatum cum rege componentium.

Death of queen Eleanor. His itaque peractis, dominus rex cum familia sua et regina, nomine Alienora, cum sua familia profecti sunt versus partes boreales. Qui cum ad villam quæ dicitur Semertone in comitatu Lincolniæ venissent, ac ibidem per aliquot dies perhendinassent, prædicta regina, gravi infortunitate præoccupata, diem clausit extremum; cujus corpus apud Westmonasterium sollemniter relatum, ibidem est sepultum.

Expulsion of the Jews. Eodem quoque anno exsulati sunt omnes Judæi ab Anglia.

Arrival of a papal legate. Eodem anno a sede Apostolica transmissus est quidam legatus in Angliam, nomine Bartholomæus Grassetan' episcopus, cum xj. equitaturis, se computato. Qui ex præcepto Apostolico quolibet die recepit duas marcas pro expensis suis et familiæ suæ. A beneficiatis de Furnes quidem recepit duas marcas. Qui[1] legatus, ne regnum diutius oneraret, ad regis instantiam ad sedem Apostolicam revocatus est.

His extortions. At the king's request he is withdrawn.

[ANNO M°CC°XC°I°.][2]

A.D. 1291. Consummatis igitur cum debita sollemnitate reginæ memoratæ exsequiis, rex Angliæ illustrissimus Edwardus partes regni sui iterato petiit boreales, et oppidum quod Norham nuncupatur usque ad perveniens, ibidem aliquot dies moram traxit. Ibi etiam omnes majores regni sui, cum equis et armis et magna multitudine peditum ab omnibus ejusdem finibus regio edicto adu-

Edward's measures respecting the succession to the throne of Scotland.

[1] *quidam*, MS.

[2] This date is not in the MS. at this point, the scribe having joined the events of 1290 and 1291, and prefixed the latter date. See note 2 on p. 572.

natorum, sibi assistere constituit; ibidem [in][1] ecclesia cum suis secretioribus consulens de negotiis regni Scotiæ, ejusdem etiam advocans majores natu, ut ab eis sciscitaretur, quisnam regali sanguini propinquior haberetur regni illius gubernacula suscipere, cum rex Alexander ultimus, jamdudum in fata decedens, prolem de corpore suo non reliquisset, qui ei hereditarie in[2] regnum succederet. Sedavit[3] etiam rex Edwardus antedictus in adventu suo literis suis, tam præceptoriis quam comminatoriis, belualem quandam gentis illius barbariem; consuevit etenim Scotorum rabies indisposita post cujuslibet sui principis obitum per multum temporis alter in alterum vicissim[4] odii tumorem [effundere], incendiis, homicidiis, ac rapinis tyrannidem exercere. Continuo autem in adventu regis ibidem redditæ sunt ei a ministris regis Scotiæ defuncti claves omnium munitionum suarum, a quibus ipse dominus rex Edwardus compotum postulavit, tam de censu regio in obitu regis relicto quam de pecunia exeunte ab omnibus terris et tenementis, quæ fuerunt ejusdem regis, a die quo in fata decessit. A.D. 1291.

Queen Eleanor dies, and is buried at Westminster.

Interea defuncta est et mater dicti regis Edwardi Alienora, quæ apud Ambrisbiri in ultimis diebus suis cum monialibus ejusdem loci perhendinaverat. Ad cujus corporis humationem rex Edwardus prædictus Londoniam rediit, et apud Westmonasterium corpus ejus cum debita sollemnitate humi commendare decrevit.

After his mother's funeral Edward returns to the north.

Quibus peractis, dictus rex Edwardus versus regnum [Scotiæ][5] iterato direxit habenas, illucque perveniens ab omnibus magnatibus, militibus, et liberis cismarinæ[6] Scotiæ, qui prius de rege Scotiæ tenementa sua in capite tenebant, homagia suscepit. Totamque terram

[1] *in*, not in MS.

[2] *et*, MS.

[3] The MS., which is very corrupt at this point, reads *Sed ad*, and then leaves a short blank space before *etiam*.

[4] *vix*, MS. The sentence is incomplete without *effundere* or a similar word.

[5] *Scotiæ*, not in MS.

[6] *cismarinis*, MS.

A.D. 1291. Scotiæ transmarinam sibi subjugavit custodiendam, cui etiam et ceteros statuit custodes sibi de exitibus responsuros. Statuit etiam ipsius regni summum custodem ac justiciarium totius regni illius, dominum Brianum filium Alani, procerem strenuum e finibus Richemundiæ oriundum, et ibidem valde ab[1] antecessoribus egregiis opulenter feodatum. Protestatus est autem et antedictus dominus rex Edwardus, coram omni congregatione magnatum Angliæ et Scotiæ, se dominium jure obtenturum de quocunque regni Scotiæ diadema consequente. Interea accesserunt ad dictum regem Edwardum coram omni congregatione quidam magnates, tam regni Angliæ quam Scotiæ, jus ex sanguinis propinquitate in regno Scotiæ vendicantes, quorum nomina inferius in quadam litera regia a dicto domino rege abbati et conventui de Furneysio sollemniter destinata, patenterque signata, ibidemque residente patebunt, in hac forma:—

Formal submission of the claimants of the Scotch crown to king Edward.

"Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, "et dux Aquitaniæ, dilectis sibi in Christo Abbati et con-"ventui de Furneysio salutem. Mittimus vobis, sub sigillo "scaccarii nostri præsentibus appenso, transcripta quarun-"dam litterarum, quæ in thesaurario nostro resident, teno-"rem qui sequitur continentes:[2]—

"A touz iceus qui ceste lettere verrunt ou horrunt, "Florence Counte de Hoyland, Roberd de Brus, seynur "de Valdenaunt, Jon Bailoil, seynur de Gawey, Jon de "Hastinges, seynur de Burguenni, Jon Comyn, seynur de "Badenough, Patrike de Dunbarre, counte de la Marche, "Jon de Vescy pur soun frer,[3] Nichol de Soulis, et Willam "de Ros, saluz en Deu.

"Come nus entenduns aver drayt en la Reume de Es-"coce, e cel drait mustrer e chalanger e avertir deuant "celuy, qui pluis de poer, jurisdiccion, e reson eust de "trier nostre drayt, e le nobel prince, sir Edward, par "la grace de Deu ray de Engeltere, nus eit enfurmez "par bons et suffisauntes resuns, qui a luy apent, et auer

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[1] The reading of the MS. is *veld' ob.*

[2] A translation of these documents is given by Tyrrell, Hist. of Engl., iii. pp. 64–66.

[3] *pere*, Fœdera, i. 775.

"dayt la souerene seynurie du dyt Reume de Escoce et A.D. 1291.
"la conissaunce de oir, trier, et terminer nostre drayt; "Nus de nostre propre volunte, sauns nulle maner de "force ou destresce voluns, otrinoms, et grantoms de re-"ceyuer drayt deuant luy, come sov[er]ayn seynur de la "tere; et volom, ja le mains, et prometoms, que nus "auroms e tendroms ferme et estabel son fet, e qui celuy "emportera le Reume a qui [dreyt][1] le durra deuant "luy. En testmoygne de cet chose nus avoms mis nos "seals a[2] cest escrit. Fet e done a Norham le Mardi "prochain apres le Ascensioun, le an de grace MCC. non-"aunte primerain.

"A tous iceus que ceste presente lettere verrount ou "horrunt Florense, counte de Hoylande, Roberde de Brus, "seynur de Valdenaunt, Jon Bailoil, seynur de Gawey, "Jon de Hastinges, seynur de Berguenny, Jon Comin, "seynur de Badenough, Patrike de Dunbarre, cunte de la "Marche, Jon de Vescy pur son frer,[3] Nichol de Soules "et William de Ros, saluz en Deu.

"Com nus eoms otrie e graunte de nostre bone volunte "et commun assent, sauns nulle destrece, a nobel prince "Sir Edward par la grace de Deu ray de Engeltere, qe "il com soverayn seynur de la terre de Escoce puise oir, "trier, et terminer nos chalanges et nos demandes, que "nos entendoms mustrer et aver pur nostre dray en "Reume de Escoce, et drayt resceueir devaunt luy, com "souerayn seynur de la terre: promettom in[4] le mayns "que sun fet auroms ferme estabel, e que celuy enportera "le reume a qui drait le durra deuaunt luy. Mes pur ceo "qe le auaundit ray de Engelterre ne puet teu maner de "conissaunce fere ne acomplir saunz jugement, ne juge-"ment ne dayt estre saunz execucion, ne execucion ne "puet il fer duement, saunz la possessioun e seysine de "mem la terre e des chasteus: nos voloms, otrioms, et "grantoms qe il com souerayn seynur, a parfer les choses "auantdites, ayt la seysine de tot la tere e des chasteus "d'Escoce, taunt qe drayt sayt fet et parforni as de-"maundaunz: en teu maner, que auaunt ceo qe il ait la

[1] *dreyt*, from Barth. Cotton, p. 181.

[2] *et*, MS.; *à*, Barth. Cott., p. 181.

[3] *pere*, Fœdera.

[4] *promettaunt ia*, Barth. Cott.

A.D. 1291.

"seysin avauntdit, face bone surete et suffisaunt as demaun- "daunz, et a gardaynes, et a la commune du reume d'Es- "coce, a fer la reversion de mem le reume, et de chasteus "oneke tut la realte, dignite, seynurie, fraunchises, cus- "tomes, draitures, leys, vsages, et possessions, e totes "maneres de apurtenaunces, en meme le estat qil estoint "quant la seysin luy fust bayle, e liuere a celuy qe "drait enportera par jugement de la reaute; sauire au "ray de Engelterre le homage de celuy qui serra ray. "Issint ke la reversioun sait fet dedens le deus moys "apres le jour qe le drayt serra trie et afferme. E qe "les issues de meme la tere en la meen tens receus, "sayent sauuement mis en depos e bengarde, par la mayn "le chaumberlayn d'Escoce qe ore est e de celuy qe serra "assigne a luy de par le rey de Engeltere et desouz lur "seals; sauve resonabel sustenaunz de la terre e de chas- "teus, et des ministris du reaume. En testmoyngn de "ceste choses auauntdites, nos avoms mis nos seals a "cest escrit. Fet et done a Norham, le Mekerdy apres "le Ascensioun, le an de grace MCC. nonaunte primer.

"Unde vobis mandamus, quod eadem faciatis in cronicis "vestris ad perpetuam[1] rei gestæ memoriam annotari. "Teste W. de Marchia thesaurario nostro apud West- "monasterium, nono die Julii, anno regni nostri decimo "nono. Per breve [de][2] privato sigillo."

Quibus jus in regnum prædictum ita vendicantibus, dominus rex prædictus diem præfixit veniendi[3] scilicet coram se et concilio suo, videlicet, festum Pentecostes proximum sequens, anni scilicet regni sui xx^mi^, apud Norham.

Burial of the heart of Queen Eleanor.

Anno quidem præcedente convocati sunt omnes abbates ordinis Cystercii Angliæ Lundoniis per præceptum domini regis Edwardi, ut assisterent humationi[4] cordis dominæ reginæ Alienoræ, matris scilicet ejusdem domini regis Edwardi, et ad anniversarium reginæ consortis ejusdem domini regis Edwardi. Cor

[1] *perpetuæ*, MS.
[2] *de*, not in MS.
[3] *veri faciens*, MS.
[4] *humanationi*, MS.

autem prædictum depositum est apud Fratres Minores Londoniarum.

A.D. 1291.

Eodem anno obtinuit dictus dominus rex Edwardus, ex collatione domini papæ, decimas omnium ecclesiarum tam secularium quam religiosorum Angliæ.[1] Postea eodem anno missus est a sede Apostolica in regnum Angliæ episcopus Tripolitanus.

The pope grants Edward a tenth from ecclesiastical property. Arrival of a legate.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC° NONAGESIMO SECUNDO.

A.D. 1292.

Obiit papa Nicholaus die sancti Ambrosii; qui concessit domino regi Anglorum decimam omnium ecclesiarum et virorum religiosorum totius regni sui ad profectionem Terræ Sanctæ per sex annos continuos subsequentes.

Death of pope Nicholas IV., April 4.

Itineratio justiciariorum domini regis apud Loncastriam.

Item profectio domini regis Edwardi versus Scotiam ubi constituit regem ad festum sancti Andreæ apostoli dominum J[ohannem] de Bailoffe.[2]

Edward decides in favour of John Baliol, Nov. 30.

Item civitas Carlocensis comburitur, et itineratio justiciariorum sedit hac de causa apud Appelby.

Burning of Carlisle.

Vacavit sedes Romana per biennium.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC° NONAGESIMO TERTIO.

A.D. 1293.

Orta est discordia inter Normannos et Quinque Portus Angliæ.

Item itineratio justiciarii apud Eboracum, Hugo de Cressingham.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC° NONAGESIMO QUARTO.

A.D. 1294.

Propter bonum pacis et concordiæ convenit inter regem Angliæ et regem Franciæ, quod ipse rex duce-

A marriage arranged between Edward and the sister of Philip IV.

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[1] The "Taxation of Pope Nicholas."

[2] Sic MS. for *Balliolo*. See also p. 555.

A.D. 1294. ret sororem regis Franciæ in uxorem; sed dum ad hoc se rex Angliæ præpararet, subito et inopinate in curia regis Franciæ ab omnibus terris suis transmarinis, rupto fœdere, abjudicatus est, et omnes Anglici a regno Franciæ ejecti et eliminati præterquam a civitate Parisius. Hac de causa media pars bonorum mobilium totius cleri, tam prælatorum quam religiosorum, insuper et decima pars mobilium bonorum laicorum, et sexta pars civium et burgensium per totam Angliam in auxilium domini regis concessa est.

is suddenly broken off. The English are expelled from France. An aid for war purposes.

Celestine V. Cœlestinus papa successit Nicholao.

Welsh rebellion, Sept. 28. Eodem anno Gwalienses[1] irruerunt in Anglos in vigilia sancti Michaelis apud Karnarvan, ipsos de terra sua ejicientes et interficientes; sed mox a domino rege Edwardo per manum validam repressi sunt: ubi rex moratus est per dimidium annum, ipsos subjugando et ad pacem suscipiendo.

Boniface VIII. Bonefacius papa successit Cœlestino, qui seipsum deposuerat, et ad cellam suam redierat.

A.D. 1295. ANNO DOMINI M°CC° NONAGESIMO QUINTO.

Two cardinals come to treat for peace. Venerunt duo cardinales apud Londonias ad tractandum de pace inter duos reges prænominatos. Rex autem Angliæ rediens de Wallia prædictis cardinalibus apud Londonias breve dedit responsum, videlicet, quod pacem libenter voluit si terræ sibi injuste ablatæ plenarie restituerentur, et transgressiones sibi factæ rationabiliter emendarentur, et hoc cum consilio et favore domini regis Alamaniæ cum quo fœdus inierat, quod sine ipso nullatenus pacem componeret. Prædicti vero cardinales, audito tali responso, celeriter remeaverunt.[2]

Edward's reply.

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[1] A contemporary hand adds in the margin, "*erexerant sibi novum* "*principem de nobiliori sanguine* "*eorum, nomine* [blank], *hominem* "*literatum et uxoratum, et irrue-* "*runt.*"

[2] They left in August.

Item decima pars bonorum mobilium totius cleri [tam presbyterorum][1] quam prælatorum concessa est domino regi in auxilium. A.D. 1295.

Item dominus Edmundus,[2] frater domini regis, et dominus H[enricus] de Lasci comes Lincolniæ cum exercitu non modico transfretaverunt in Vasconiam, et dominus rex cum suis iter arripuit versus Scotiam, ubi in primo introitu suo citra Pascha villam de Berwike vi et armis cepit, et pluribus interfectis, quosdam nobiles, scilicet tres comites et plures alios, per diversas partes Angliæ transmisit custodiendos.

Prince Edmund crosses to Gascony.

Edward takes Berwick.

Anno Domini M°CC° nonagesimo sexto.

A.D. 1296.

Cepit rex castrum de Dunbar, ubi quam plures Scotorum interfecti sunt in bello, et etiam episcopus de Aberdene interfectus est, et paulo post rex Scotiæ cum multis nobilibus se reddidit, et deductus est apud Londoniam, et postea apud castrum de Wendeshoveres positus est custodia. Villa de Berwike circumvallata est magno fossato, et inhabitata ab Anglicis, Scotis penitus exclusis.

Edward takes Dunbar.

Dominus Johannes Comyn, comes de Boylan, cum multitudine Scottorum in septimana Paschæ irruit in Angliam, et obsedit civitatem Karl[iolum] per triduum; sed feminis defendentibus, nihil proficiens ad propria remeavit.

John Comyn attacks Carlisle, about March 25.

Obiit Edmundus germanus domini regis in Wasconia. Item dominus Johannes de Lascis. Et quintus denarius ab universo clero per totam Angliam petitur.[3]

Prince Edmund dies in Gascony.

---

[1] Not in MS., but apparently requisite.

[2] These events belong to the historical year 1296, but fall within the civil year beginning on 25th March, the reckoning increasingly in vogue at this date.

[3] *petiit*, MS.

A.D. 1297.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC° NONAGESIMO SEPTIMO.

King Edward crosses to Flanders, Aug. 21.

xij. kalendas Septembris rex Edwardus, partim contra voluntatem comitum et magnatum, cum paucis transfretavit in Flandriam, et primo receptus est apud Briges et deinde apud Gaunt, ubi in utraque villa parabantur ei insidiæ; sed gratia Dei eum protegente libere semper illæsus permansit, et de adversariis suis triumphavit.

The Scotch ravage the north of England.

Interim Scoti moverunt guerram, omnes Anglos de terra sua fugantes, et quos comprehendere potuerunt interficientes. Deinde cum magno exercitu venerunt in Angliam, scilicet in Northumberland illam devastantes, villas et maneria comburentes, et stragem magnam facientes fere usque ad Novum Castrum, scilicet per l. milliaria in longitudine et eo amplius in latitudine. Circa Natale Domini reversi sunt in terram suam cum præda[1] innumerabili vasorum, victualium, animalium, et jumentorum.

An aid granted.

Item datus est domino Regi a clero quintus denarius de provincia Eboracensi, et de provincia Cantuariensi decimus denarius, et a laicis per totam Angliam nonus denarius.

The English invade Scotland, about Feb. 2.

Item comites et barones circa festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ cum exercitu adierunt Scotiam ad injuriam et damnum prædictum vindicandum, et castra quæ adhuc in manu regis erant defendendum et retinendum.

Obiit dominus Gilbertus de Gaunt in mari, revertens de domino rege de Flandria, et sepultus est apud monasterium de Bardenaya.

Edward makes peace with the French, and returns March 13 (1298).

Dominus rex Angliæ, acceptis induciis per triennium sub forma pacis cum domino rege Franciæ, circa mediam Quadragesimam, scilicet in crastino sancti Gregorii papæ, reversus est in Angliam, et applicuit apud Sandewiche in bona prosperitate.

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[1] *prædicta*, MS.

Comites et barones Angliæ intrantes Scotiam mox Scottis effugatis villam de Berwike intraverunt, ibidem commorantes, et voluntatem domini regis præstolantes. A.D. 1297.

ANNO DOMINI M°CC° NONAGESIMO VIII.°. A.D. 1298.

Circa festum sancti Johannis Baptistæ rex Edwardus adiit Scotiam cum exercitu, ubi tria millia [hominum][1] vel amplius præcesserunt exercitum fere per x leucas, et in octavis sancti Johannis Baptistæ præoccupati sunt a Scottis et præventi, et ceciderunt ex illis in illa die septingenti viri vel amplius, et ceteri fugerunt. Et paulo post, die videlicet sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, commissum est prœlium inter exercitum regis Angliæ et Scotos,[2] et ceciderunt ex parte Scotorum quater viginti millia secundum æstimationem minorem, secundum vero æstimationem majorem C. millia. Reliqui Scoti et maxime equestres conversi sunt in fugam. Ex parte vero Anglorum cecidit magister Templariorum cum[3] aliis paucis. Rex autem Edwardus cum ceteris magnatibus, relictis in castris custodibus, cito post festum sancti Michaelis reversi sunt[4] in Angliam.

About June 24 the king invades Scotland. On July 1 an advanced guard of his army is defeated. Battle of Falkirk, July 22. King Edward returns after Sept. 29.

Eodem anno auxilium conceditur domino regi ad guerram suam et terram Angliæ defendendam, quinta pars[5] per duos annos, contra Scotos et impetum eorum, ab archiepiscopo Eboracensi et ab omni clero ejusdem provinciæ.[6]

A fifth granted to the king.

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[1] A small blank in the MS.

[2] *apud Faukirk* in the margin, written by a later hand.

[3] *et*, MS.

[4] Thus in MS.

[5] *quintam partem*, MS.

[6] The MS. ends abruptly near the foot of *fo*. 207*b*., col. 1.

STEPHANI ROTHOMAGENSIS

MONACHI BECCENSIS

POEMA,

CUI TITULUS

"DRACO NORMANNICUS."

PROŒMIUM.

PROŒMIUM

IN

NORMANNICUM DRACONEM.

The art and methods of poetry.

Ingenii virtus crescit fervore studendi,
Ac studii nimio pressa labore jacet.
Hanc regit, informat, refovet moderatior usus;
Turbat mæror, alit[1] gloria, servat amor:
Mæror, nam lætos quærit meditatio jugis,
Discendi studium tristia corda fugit:
Gloria, dum sapiens claros conscendit honores,
Stultus et elinguis laudis honore caret.
Sic amor instigat studium, sic fervor amantis
Cogitat id solum, quod sibi dulce sapit.
Instruit ingenium tum lectio, tum meditandi
Usus consolidat callidiusque facit.
Efficitur subtile quidem subtilia scrutans,
Gnarus[2] in his solus mentis acumen habet.
Eloquio splendet, qui callet in arte loquendi,
Si tamen assuetum servat in arte modum.
Cogitet, inveniat quid causæ postulet usus,
Obviet adversis, quæ sibi justa probet,
Distribuatque locis discretis quæque reperta:
Mollia stent mediis, cetera firmet onus.
Sensibus inventis, adjungat dicta polita:
Par servetur in his cura decorque modus.
Nil prædicta valent memori, nisi pectore stringat,
Thesaurus reseret credita jure sibi.

---

[1] *alte* in MS. | [2] *garus* originally, but corrected.

Callidus orator post hæc pronuntiet ore
Quam variis rebus mens sibi clara nitet.
Hac qui parte caret, perdit quod in arte laborat:
Respuit auditor quod sibi turpe sonat.
Judicium referens inventis, singula penset,
Quinque supradictos sumat ab arte modos.
Hæc servanda reor causam tractare volenti,
Servet et hæc metri lege poeta novus.
Insita carminibus veterum discernimus ista:
In causis redolent rethoricisque libris.
His sine lingua caret verbis ex arte politis, *fo.* 106 *b.*
Nititur hæc fari, turbida quæque refert.
Gnarus in arte modum tenet, ornat dicta, colores
Spargit, opus librat, singula verba notat.
Turbinis instar habens, indoctus turbida profert,
Miscet et involvit quicquid in ore[1] ruit.
Sensum, verba, modum, confundit, congerit, aufert,
Judicioque carens, dicere cuncta cupit.
Invenit, exornat, disponit conscius artis.
Hæc tria quid valeant judicat, idque regit.
Excolit ingenium, studium pro viribus arcet,
Plura legit, sensum ruminat, alta subit.
Cernere contendit quæ sit lux vera sophiæ:
Depellit tenebras, pectoris error abit.
Informatque fidem, spem firmat, mundat amorem;
Scire suum vitæ consociare parat.
Utque sapit mores componit, roborat, æquat,
Sensu consilii, pondere, jure, modo.
Ingenii vires studiis enixius urget:
Carmine nunc resonat, nunc sibi prosa placet.
The subjects of which the author treats:
Dum moror in studiis, hæc mecum sæpe revolvens,
Ex propriis gazis edere pauca libet.
Henrici juvenis, præclari regis in armis,
Materiæ causam vita thronusque dedit.[2]

---

[1] Thus in MS.

[2] *Causa naturalis hujus libri et de quo in eo determinatur*, margin of MS.

Hic breviter tanti describo principis actus,
Tum de matre loquor, conjuge, prole, patre.
Altius aggredior Danorum scribere gesta,
Rollonisque ducis prœlia celsa cano;
Quis fuerit, qualis, quantus, quam nobilis armis,
Quæ sibi gens, socii, dicere cordis erit;[1]
Quæ sit et unde, quibus ducibus gens Francigenarum,
Quam sibi dux stravit Danicus ille, noto.
Hastingum refero, primus qui Danica bella
Francorum cuneis intulit atque faces.
Nec taceo quis rex Francorum sceptra regebat,
Ut sibi pax fieret, Rollo quid inde tulit.
Fœdere pro pacis datur huic Normannica tellus,
Tellus cui Britonum jungitur; idque placet.
Inde duces claros recolo Normannigenarum,
Qui fuerint, quanti, quis sibi finis adest.
Insignisque ducis Willelmi prœlia narro,
Anglos qui superat, dum diadema capit.
Natorum seriem, moresque, thronumque revolvo:
Dividit his regnum, tuncque beatus obit.
Horum gesta canens, Henrici prœlia magni
Laudibus eximiis acta referre volo:
Fratrem cum cuneis forti certamine cepit,
Francigenas acies tradidit ille fugæ.
Nec regis sileo raptum Stephani diadema,
Quod tamen armorum viribus ipse tulit.
[In][2] numero regum fuerit successio qualis
Francigenis, ex quo Rollo subacta regit.
Nomina cum gestis horum distinguo quibusdam,
Cum Normannigenis quis sibi pacis amor.
Nec Karolum sileo, Stephanus quem papa sacravit,
Cuique patrique suo Francica sceptra dedit.
Italiæ medio quæ princeps gessit uterque
Viribus egregiis, hic duo bella fremunt.

the empress Maud and the house of Anjou; Hastings, Rollo, and the settlement of the Northmen in Neustria;

William the Conqueror and his descendants;

Stephen;

Pepin and Charlemagne;

---

[1] *erat*, MS.

[2] *In*, not in MS.

Hugh Capet; the affairs of Henry II.; the schism of 1159 through the election of two popes; death of the empress Maud; the peace of 1169.

Horum progenies Hugonis traditione
Qualiter a regno decidit, inde noto.
Regibus his nostris quæ sit discordia pingo,
Scribitur hinc regis filia nupta viro.
Post geminos refero Papas, quos Roma creavit:
Concilium geminum rhetoris ore cano.
Carminis in[1] calcem mortem describo Mathildis:
Ex gemino regum fœdere finis adest.

Explicit Proœmium.[2]

---

[1] MS. reads *in*.

[2] At this point in the MS. follow all the headings of the chapters collected together, extending from the lower third of *fo.* 107 to the middle of *fo.* 112. That these should have been *also* annexed to their respective chapters appears likely from the fact that a few (six) at the beginning are so found in the margin of the MS. The signal advantage of distributing them, as Cardinal Mai and M. Omont have done, will be seen by referring to Lib. I. xxxi. and xxxii., and to Lib. II. xiii. and xiv. The only words which are on this plan omitted are the following: "*Incipiunt capitula libri primi.*" "*Expliciunt capitula libri primi, incipiunt capitula libri secundi.*" "*Expliciunt capitula libri secundi, incipiunt capitula libri tertii.*" These, however, are added in footnotes, and the paging of the MS. is marked in the margin at the point at which each fresh folio begins. These numbers are distinguished by square brackets thus, [*fo.* 107], from the paging of the poem.

LIBER PRIMUS.

NORMANNICUS DRACO INCIPIT.

CAP. I.

[*fo.* 107.]* **Generalis de hominum morte Præfatio.*

The absolute subjection of the world to death.

Non genus, aut virtus, non divitiæ vel honores
Aut mortem superant, aut superare valent.
Hoc natura trahit de primi jure parentis;
Labitur hic pomo, quo perit omnis homo.[1]
Rumphea flammigera Christi restincta cruore
Vertitur. Hinc homini jam polus ipse patet.
Pro meritis discretus honor cœlestia donat,
Exigit hoc vita sexus uterque sibi.
Non animam sexus distinguit: vir mulierque
Sunt anima similes, non ibi sexus inest.
In meritis solis discretio sola tenetur,
Sicque piis studiis vita beata datur.
Mors igitur dum scire facit quid quisque meretur,
Judicii veri jus generale gerit,
fo. 112 *b.* Huic requiem tribuit, dat et illi jure laborem:
Dispar vita fuit, nec locus unus erit.
Sic jus, sic ratio meritorum præmia pensat,
Singula sic librat, sicque creata regit.
Jus necis omnis homo metuit, tremit imperialis
Gloria, nam subicit invida quæque sibi.
Pontifici regem sociat, rhetorque sophistæ
Jungitur, indoctum cum sapiente rapit.
Omnia consumit proprii quæ juris habentur:
Quæque sibi nasci conspicit, illa terit.

[1] Compare with these opening words lines 2–6 of the poem on Count Waleran, p. 766. See also lines 289 and 290 of the *Draco*, and lines 1 and 2 of the shorter piece; these are absolutely identical.

Cap. II.

De morte Mathildis imperatricis.

Death of the empress Maud.

Hæc floris speciem nostri gemmæque nitorem[1]
  Stravit; flos cecidit; splendida gemma ruit.
Imperii splendor, decus orbis, laus mulierum
  Mathildis subiit[2] corpore jura necis.
Spiritus ex meritis cœlesti sede locatus,
  Credo quod æterna luce beatus erit.
Quæ duo semotis spatiis jam dissociata
  Uniet æterni Judicis illa manus.
Quæ cum in propria renovabit climata mundi
  Hanc gemina veste vestiet arte nova.
Immortalis enim duplici cum dote resurget
  Æterni thalami conscia, mente, fide.

Cap. III.

Quod primi Henrici Anglorum regis et Mathildis reginæ filia fuerit dicta Mathildis[3] imperatrix.

Birth and virtues of Maud.

Hæc igitur regis Henrici splendida proles
  Moribus et vita consonat ipsa patri.
Nobilis hanc peperit Mathildis regia conjux,
  Splendor honestatis conjugiique decus.
Nominis et fidei matri pia subditur heres,
  Nata piæ matris servat et intrat iter.
Anglia resplendet exortu sideris hujus,
  Quæ si non sidus, sideris instar habet.
Nam virtute prius, nunc famæ luce[4] coruscat,
  In mundo[5] radiat lumine clara novo.

---

[1] *vitorem* (sic), MS.

[2] *scilicet anno* 1167, M.

[3] *dicta Mathildis*, by a coeval hand, filling a lacuna on *fo*. 107.

[4] *lux* in MS.

[5] The spelling of the MS. here and in many places is *mondo*, a trace of the nationality of the scribes.

Cap. IV.

Quod Henricus imperator hanc in[1] conjugem accepit, ac diademate fecit eam Romæ coronari.

Her marriage to Henry V. emperor of Germany.

Interea magnus Henricus in imperiali
Culmine conspicuus jus dabat omne suis.
Hic Karoli proles Alamannica sceptra tenebat,
Mundi Roma caput subdita jura tulit.
Sideris hic nostri, fama volitante, decorem
Noscit, amat, quærit consociare sibi.
fo. 113. Clarior ut claro sit sidere nititur, ardet
Conjugii specimen fretus amore patris.
R. de Monte, Pertz, vi. 483. Ostro conspicui, gemmis auroque nitentes
Legati veniunt, impèriique decus.
Terrarum fines penetrant, et in Anglica regna
Tendentes subeunt regia tecta viri.

Embassy from Germany and arrangement of her marriage.

Auribus in regis legatos imperiales
Affore quis retulit, narrat, adauget opes.
Curia completur comitum procerumque caterva,
Confluit atque simul militis ampla manus.
Assunt legati, dant imperialia jussa,
Applaudunt[2] proceres, rexque comesque favent.
Sicque puella decens Mathildis filia regis
Poscitur, accipitur, conjugioque datur.[3]
Ortu, divitiis, comitatu splendida, linquit
Stella solum patrium[4]: redditur atra dies.
Splendidius, fateor, nil protulit Anglica tellus
Ingenio, sensu, munere, mente, fide.

This union fulfils Merlin's prophecy. The imperial pair are crowned at Rome.

Regalis soboles Alamannica regna subintrat.
Hic aquilam vatis[5] nidificare vides.[6]
Suscipit Henricus sponsam, secumque coronat,
Hoc insigne decus maxima Roma dedit.

---

[1] The heading to this chapter on *fo.* 107 runs, *in conjugium accepit et secum in Roma diademate coronari fecit.*

[2] *applaudint*, MS.

[3] *Scilicet anno* 1110, M.

[4] *patrum*, MS.

[5] *natis*, previous editions, but the reference is to Merlin.

[6] "Et aquila ejus super montem Aranium nidificabit," is the passage in Merlin's prophecy.

Pluribus hæc lustris, tanto condigna marito,
  Vixit in imperii culmine cara suis.
Ut dominam proceres, ut matrem pauper amabat;
  Hos retinet caros, hos pietate fovet.
Quæ morum probitate nitens et gloria regni,
  Lux sibi, lux populis ecclesiæque fuit.
Non diadema micans nec opes fecere superbam,
  Sed magis urgebant ad pietatis opus.
Floruit imperium sub tanti floris honore,
  Dum sibi Mathildem sensit honore parem.

Cap. V.

De morte ejusdem imperatoris, et de reditu[1] imperatricis in Normanniam.

Death of the emperor Henry V.

Proh dolor! in tanto dum culmine clara nitescit,
  Evacuatur honos, gloria tota ruit.
Cessit enim fatis Henricus in imperiali
  Præcellens solio, morteque pressus obit.
Hinc Alamannorum mæror, Romania tota
  Turbine ceu venti turbida facta gemit.
Urbibus illatus rumor dum quæque pererrat, *fo.* 113 *b.*
  Cuncta replet luctu, clade, dolore, metu.
Sic decus ille ducum, populi lux, splendor in armis,
  Solaris radius deficit igne suo.
Invida væ tibi mors! Quid morsu singula stringis?
  Vasta lues tantis parce nefanda viris.
Parcere sed nescis; Parcarum fila perurgent;
  Et quia non parcunt, parcere sæva nequis.
Nunc hos nunc illos subicis, nullumque refutas,
  Quæque tui juris perspicis, illa trahis.
Imperialis honor tibi subditur, alta potestas
  Corruit, inque tuum jus grave victa cadit.
Cur proceres tantos[2] tam parvo tempore sternis?
  Cum miser hinc rapitur, quis dolor esse queat?

---

[1] On *fo.* 107 the MS. reads *reditu ipsius imperatricis.*

[2] *tanti*, MS.

Cum vero [1] virtute vigens geminave peritus
Rerum notitia tollitur, inde dolor.
Ut domus obruitur cæsis fractisque columnis,
Sic ruit hic mundus, morte trahente pios.
Lumine ceu proprio Mathildis sic viduata
Deserit externum corpore corde solum.

R. de Monte, vi., 488.

The empress returns to England.

Lux redit [2] in patriam, patrium se reddit [3] in hortum
Flos nitidus, nobis undique spirat odor.
Hanc pater excipiens, nativo germine gaudet,
Morte viri scita condolet, inde gemit.

Cap. VI.

Quod Gaufridus consul Andegavensis dictam [4] imperatricem desponsavit, ex qua genuit Henricum regem Anglorum.

R. de Monte, vi., 458.

She marries Geoffrey of Anjou.

Flos juvenum, vis militiæ, consul probitatis,
Andegavensis apex hanc petit, ardet, amat.
Per se perque suos tum munere tum prece temptat,
Temptat conjugii talis inire decus.
Consulis in tanti manibus datur [5] imperialis
Conjux, et soboles regia clara satis.
Si diadema micans, si purpura cultibus adsit,
Credas quod maneat gloria prima sibi.
His par nobilitas dum proles regis uterque,
Nulla magis tanto nubere digna viro.
Moribus et vitæ sanguis concordat et ætas,
In paribus pariter par honor atque genus.

Birth of Henry II.

Ex his rege satis generatur lucifer iste,[6]
Qui fremit in mundo viribus, ense,[7] throno.

---

[1] *ac cum*, MS.

[2] *Sc. anno* 1125, M.

[3] *redit*, MS.

[4] On *fo*. 107 the MS. reads, *eamdem imperatricem postmodum in matrimonium sortitus sit, et ex ea Henricum regem Anglorum genuerit.* This heading is the last which appears in its place in the margin, annexed to the verses.

[5] *Sc. anno* 1127, M.

[6] *Sc. Henricus, qui natus fuit anno* 1134, M.

[7] *esse*, MS.

Gaudet uterque parens exorto pignore tanto, *fo.* 114.
Nec minus in tali sidere gaudet avus.

Cap. VII.

De filiorum primi Henrici regis et ipsius morte, et quod ei in imperium nepos ejus Stephanus comes Moritoniensis successerit.

The drowning of prince William. Merlin's prophecy of that event.

R. de Monte, vi., 486.

Hic Gallis bello superatis dum mare sulcat,
Qua vehitur proles, obruit unda ratem.
Æquoris in pisces catulos transire leonis[1]
Vates insonuit, sors miseranda nimis!
In nata[2] natoque suo spes sola relicta,
Cernitur ex uno substituisse duos.

A comet portends the death of Henry I.

Hic quantus fuerit vivens, in morte cometa
Præcinit innumeris irradiata comis.
Comparat hunc vates rugienti jure leoni,[3]
Tum quia magnanimus tum quia terror erat.[4]
Cujus et acta canit quasi jam transacta referret,
Inspicit hoc relegens mystica verba viri.
Defuncti cerebrum, cor, servat Neustria;[5] corpus
Anglia;[6] spiritui sit locus ipse polus.
Uniet unius[7] partes tres, trinus et unus,
Cernat ut unitus quod sibi constat idem.

The usurpation of Stephen.

Hujus in imperium[8] Stephanus successit in armis:
Egregius consul, regis et ipse nepos.
Huncque suosque novos natos horumque favorem
Sublimem fieri vatis in arte[9] vides.

---

[1] Merlin's prophecy: "Catuli "leonis in æquoreos pisces trans"formabuntur."

[2] *i.e., filia*, M., interlined above *nata*.

[3] "Succedet leo justitiæ ad cujus "rugitum Gallicanæ turres . . . "tremeut," Merlin's prophecy.

[4] *errat*, MS.

[5] *Sc. in Prato*, M., interlined above *Neustria*.

[6] Geoffrey of Monmouth's words are, "Væ tibi Neustria, quia cere"brum leonis in te effundetur, "dilaceratisque membris a patrio "solo eliminabitur."

[7] *nimis*, MS.

[8] *imperio*, MS.

[9] *arce*, MS.

Heres Henrico[1] nisi natæ natus et ipsa
  Non erat, at[2] natus tempore parvus adhuc.
Sensibus, ingenio, studiis, animi[3] probitate,
  Corpore dum crescit, crescit et ipse puer.
Lætatur genitor, se totum cernit in illo,[4]
  Vultu, consiliis, moribus, ore, manu.
Hinc mater binos diverso tempore natos[5]
  Concipit; hos simili nutrit amore pater,
Hi pariter parili servantur honore parentum,
  His quia par sensus, par genus, atque decor.

Geoffrey and William, sons of Maud.

Cap. VIII.

[*fo.* 107 *b.*]*

De adventu Gaufridi comitis Andegavensis in Normanniam cum exercitu, et quod Rothomagum cepit, Henricum filium suum ducem Normanniæ fecit, postea Andegavim rediit, nec multo post hominem exuit.*

Geoffrey of Anjou overruns Normandy.

Interea Gaufridus adest ceu fulmen ab alto;
  Neustria concutitur[6] fulgure[7] tacta novo.
Improvisus enim, ceu venti turbine facto,
  Turbat eam per se, per sua, perque suos.
fo. 114 *b.* Cæsaris aggreditur galeatis viribus urbem,
  Militis obsistit vis procerumque vigor.
Obvius armatis veniens exercitus urbis
  Cæditur et cædit, pellitur, inde fugit.
Demum per gladios, per vim, per tela, per ignem
  Nobilis urbs capitur, traditur arxque duci.
Dempto sic capitis tanta virtute vigore,
  Ex facili subicit cetera membra sibi.

He takes Rouen,

[1] *Qui decessit anno* 1135, M.
[2] *at*, thus in MS.
[3] *animis*, MS.
[4] *illum*, MS.
[5] *Sc. Gaufridum et Guillelmum*, M.
[6] *Scilicet per spacium fere* viij. *annorum et paulatim acquisivit castra Normanniæ, et anno* 1143 *redditur sibi Rothomagus et sic pro filio suo Henrico obtinet ducatum Normanniæ, cui filio facto militi anno* 1149 *reddidit ducatum tanquam suam hereditatem*, M.
[7] *fulgore*, MS.

Gallis devictis hanc Cæsar condidit urbem,[1]
Milite Romano complet et ornat eam.
Nuncupat hanc Rodomum, Romanis quod domus extet,
Cæsaris hinc Burgus, Julia fitque Bona.[2]
Neustria tota simul superatur, cedit, obedit,
Consulis atque ducis viribus, arte, metu.

and makes his son Henry duke of Normandy.

Henricus dux efficitur sudore paterno:
Andegavim[3] remeat natus et ipse pater.
O violenta nimis, quid agis, mors, invida pestis?
Quid patriæ lumen tollere sæva cupis?

Death of Geoffrey of Anjou.

Rem morti similem quis demonstrare valebit?
Quæ polus aut orcus suscipit, ista necat.
Sublimes, humiles, fortes, castos, sapientes,
Obruit, extinguit, comprimit, arcet, habet.
Heu dolor! insignis consul valetudine pressus
Dum sibi succedunt prospera, fata[4] subit.[5]
Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus, obit.[6]
Nobilis successus juvenis resolutus ad astra,
Labitur, occumbit, deficit, exit, abit.

His burial at Le Mans.

Spiritus ad requiem transfertur, nam Cenomannis
Inclyta præclari continet ossa viri.

---

[1] *Quis condidit urbem Rothomagum. Et prius dicebatur Rodomus, id est, Romanorum domus, sed nunc dicitur Rothomagum*, M.

[2] *Cæsaris Burgus et Julia Bona*, M.

[3] *Andegavi*, MS.

[4] *Obitus Gaufridi comitis Andegavensis*, M.

[5] *Sc. anno* 1150, M.

[6] This couplet (*Flos . . . obit*) occurs *verbatim* in Étienne's "*Carmen de Waleranno*," forming the opening lines of the poem. See Appendix to the present volume, p. 766.

CAP. IX.

Quod Henricus dux Normanniæ et comes Andegavensis post mortem patris in conjugium accepit filiam comitis Pictavensis et ducis Acquitaniæ, Francorum quondam reginam, totumque comitatum et ducatum ipsius obtinuit; et quod contra Stephanum Anglorum regem in Angliam cum exercitu intravit. Et de Roberto Wischardi.[1] *Et de morte Eustachii filii regis Stephani, et de pace inter regem et ducem, et de morte ipsius regis, et quod eodem anno in Natali Domini, præsentibus episcopis et baronibus regni, apud Londoniam in regem sacratus sit ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Thebaldo, et cum regina diademate tunc primum insignitus.*

Dux igitur patrii successor juris et heres,
  Matris ad imperium protegit omne solum.
Fœderis hinc aquilam rupti sibi fœderat: ipsam[2]
  Dux genuit, cujus gens Aquitana fuit.
Hinc duplicatur honor, geminatur honore ducatus,
  Vis animi major quam suus omnis honos.

Henry's marriage with the divorced queen.

fo. 115.
Consulis atque ducis dux consul honorat honorem,
  Quo magis hic crescit culmine, crescit honos.
Hinc animi feritas, hinc militis anxia virtus,
  Hæc trahit, hæc urget quo sua jura petat.
Natus ad imperium, sibi regnum quærit avitum,
  Hoc cupit, hoc ardet subdere jure, manu.
Instruit inde rates, armatos colligit, instat
  Viribus et ferro fortis ubique leo.
Navali strepitu mare sulcans littora linquit,
  Ut sibi fata favent, sic polus, aura canit.

He invades England.

[1] *Et . . . Wischardi*, in margin in a coeval hand.

[2] The passage in Merlin's prophecy is, "deaurabit illud aquila "rupti fœderis, et tertia nidifica- "tione gaudebit." See also *l.* 395.

Navibus egreditur galeatus, Julius alter,
  Fretus militiæ viribus, ense fremit.
Fama volat Normannigenas cum turbine belli
  Cum duce moliri vulnera, dampna, neces.

The war-like deeds of the Normans.

Vi Normannigenum superabitur Anglica tellus,
  Inviolata manent diva statuta sibi.
Belliger insignis Rollo Francos superavit,
  Regia cui proles pars patriaeque datur.
Hinc ferus et validus Willelmus surgit in armis,
  Haraldum superat viribus, huncque necat.
Altius insurgens Normanni germinis ardor
  Alpes transgreditur,[1] longius arma gerit.
Wischardus[2] vehemens Siculæ telluris in arces
  Victrices aquilas inserit, hasque capit.

The war in England in Stephen's reign.

Ut genus, ut virtus, ut honor, Normannica proles,
  Contulit, instigat, quæritur,[3] alta petit.
Dux igitur noster, vallatus milite multo,
  Anglica pervadit mœnia, castra locat.
Hinc acies, hastas, enses, cuneos, grave bellum,
  Ordinat, extollit, nudat, adauget, init.
Dum parat, accelerat, sumuntur vincere bella
  Vires, rex Stephanus non minus arma capit.
Hinc natus, probitate vigens armisque peritus,
  Colligit armatos undique; cuncta rapit.

Prince Eustace, while devastating the country round Bury St. Edmunds, falls ill and dies.

Vastat cum sociis Edmundi prædia regis; R. de Monte, vi. 503.
  Cernere virtutem martyris ille nequit.
Percussus sentit quod vivat regia virtus; *fo.* 115 *b.*
  Sternitur hic lecto, fata repente subit.

---

[1] *Scilicet Robertus Wiscardi cum fratribus, filiis Tancredi domini de Altavilla prope Constantias, nobilis militis, qui Robertus vi belli fuit dux Apuliæ et Calabriæ, et Rogerus ejus frater fuit comes Siciliæ eorumque posteritates dicta dominia possederunt de patre in filium, vel eo circiter, usque ad Fredericum* ij. *imperatorem, qui a dicto dominio per Ecclesiam fuit privatus in Lugdunensi concilio, præsidente Innocentio* iiij°. *anno Domini* M.CC.XLV. Margin.

[2] *Robertus*, interlined MS.

[3] *quaritur*, MS. The emendation *quærit et* spoils the pairing of the words *ut genus—contulit*, &c.

Non rex, non proceres, non miles plangere cessat,
Hinc dolor, hinc luctus tristia corda replet.
Sic sua defendet martyr, vincit sine ferro,
Sicque duci nostro subvenit, immo suo.
Dux indefessus nunc hæc nunc occupat illa,
Vi ferri subicit fortia, quæque potest.
Ut valet obsistit comitum procerumque potestas,
Quisque sibi pavidus munit ubique sua.
Conflictus varios, eventus quosque referre
Non sinit hæc brevitas, res vetat ampla nimis.
Pontificum procerumque metus pro pace laborans,
Impetrat hanc regi conditione dari.

The arrangement between Stephen and Henry.

Dum dolet ex nato, dum deflet, dum timet hostem,
Heredem sibi rex annuit esse ducem.
Conditio tamen hæc: viventi sceptra relinquat,
Et regi referat quod mare claudit ei.
Pactum firmatur cum concilio generali,
Rex, cœtus procerum, cum duce fœdus init.

Death of Stephen. Further fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy.

Ut jus divinum statuit, post tempore parvo
Rex obit, inde duces dant diadema duci.
Montibus instat aper, galeati transvolat umbram,[1]
Merlinus merulæ vocibus ista canit.

Henry and Eleanor wear their crowns at Christmas in London.

Conjuge cum clara primum diademate fulsit
Londoniæ qua Lux Cœlica nata die.

Cap. X.

De morte Gaufridi et Willelmi, fratrum ejusdem regis.

Julius in terris Macedonis astat in armis,
Exprimit iste duos sensibus, ense, manu.
Nec minor eloquio, vi mentis, culmine morum,
Ortu, divitiis, nobilitate ducum.
Mundi pars minor huic, fidei sed luce refulget:
Hac superatur ab his, hac superavit eos.

---

[1] The allusion is again to Merlin's prophecy: "Apri igitur dentibus "accinctus cacumina montium et "umbram galeati transcendet."

Terror Francigenis, galeatus murus in armis,
  Militiæ splendor, nobilitatis apex.
Summus ubique leo vi nulla cedere novit,
  Fulguris instar habens hostibus ense fremit.
Obtinet[1] hic solus quod jam fuit ac genitoris *fo.* 116.
  Pictavisque ducis, nec minor ipse tribus.
Unit tres unus, sic et tria perficit unum,
  Una trium virtus, imperium fit idem.
Quidquid tres probitatis erant transivit in istum,
  Cernitur in tanto vivere quisque trium.
Nomen avi retinens, par sensu, par feritate,
  Hunc super excellit rebus, honore, throno.
Lux generis proprii toto resplenduit orbi,
  Ex atavis hujus par sibi nemo fuit.

He was tenth duke of Normandy and tenth count of Anjou.

Hic Normannigenum rex et dux denus habetur;
  Andegavis consul denus et ipse manet.
Perfecto numero, perfectæ vir probitatis,
  Hos illosque simul claudere dignus erat.
Fratribus hic binis quasi muris jam galeatis
  Cinctus, terror erat hostibus, arma suis.
Quis clypeos tales vallatos viribus, armis
  Flecteret, hos unus si sociasset amor?
Ingenium speciale tribus sensusque politus,
  Artibus hos dederat doctus et ipse pater.
O fortuna gravis, quid tantis floribus instas?
  Matri sæva neces ingeris ante necem.
Tertia numquid erit rex nidificatio matris?[2]
  Gaudeat, ut vates præcinit ille suus.

Death of Geoffrey and William, the king's brothers.

Gaudet in hoc solo: secuit duo splendida fila
  Atropos, hinc flores perdidit ista duos.
Hunc regit, hunc sternunt,[3] nil sors sua, nil sua fata,
  Immo Dei nutus hæc tenet, illa movet.

---

[1] Another hand takes up the work here, and also resumes after the passage *ll.* 553–570.

[2] For this passage from Merlin's prophecy see p. 603, note 2.

[3] M. Omont alters this to *sternit*, but surely *sors* . . . *regit*, *fata* . . . *sternunt* is correct. See many such lines as 329, 330 on p. 601.

Rex superest solus, solamen matris et heres,
Unica vis regni justitiæque vigor.
Consulis et regis rapiuntur bis duo nati,
Hosque duos stravit vis violenta necis.
Sic bis ternorum vires rediguntur ad unum,
Unus habet quidquid sex habuere simul.

Cap. XI.

De morte Willelmi primogeniti filii regis ipsius, et de aliis ejusdem filiis, quidque de ipsis Merlinus prophetaverit.

In natos[1] vultum transfundit sponsa paternum:
Ex duce progenitus primus ad astra meat.
Forte sibi regnum reputaret regius heres
Ut manet hic regis natus, et ille ducis.[2]
Transtulit hunc Qui cuncta videt, dispensat, et arcet,
Death of his eldest son, William, and his burial at Reading (A.D. 1156).
Nam primogenitum dixerat esse suum.
R. de Monte, vi. 505.
Innocui corpus sed parvum virginis hujus
Ut tenet hæc proavi, clara Radingis habet.
fo. 116 b.
Germine consimili[3] germani jam quasi stellæ
Resplendent patriæ, Neustria nostra nitet.
Hi timor, hi gemitus Gallis, hi flamma futuri,
Clades, bella, dolor, damna, ruina, furor.
Ut balista jacit, muros aries quatit, isti
Obvia quæque terent, fulguris instar erunt.
Præcinit hinc vates, catulos dicitque regentis[4]
Merlin's prophecy as to Henry's sons.
Evigilaturos, quos modo somnus habet.

---

[1] *natis*, MS.

[2] W. of Newburgh says the same (Vol. I. p. 26) about Henry I.

[3] *cōsiti*, MS. very clearly, but the previous editions read *consilii*.

[4] The remainder of this section is merely a versification of the words of Merlin's prophecy: "Evigilabunt rugientes catuli et post-"positis nemoribus intra mœnia "civitatum venabuntur. Stragem "non minimam . . . facient et lin-"guas taurorum abscindent. Colla "rugientium onerabunt catenis, et "avita tempora renovabunt."

Urbes venatum cum viribus ingredientur,
  Postponentque nemus, ludus ubique procul.
Strages innumeras obstantibus hostibus addent,
  Mutus erit taurus, lingua superba ruet.
Hique prement variis tumidorum colla catenis,
  Stent ut avita sibi tempora lege pari.

Cap. XII.

De expeditione regis Henrici cum maximo exercitu ad Tholosam, et quod [1] ingressum in eam regem Francorum obsidere noluerit.

The expedition against Toulouse.

Tunc, si non cessit, cedet Tholosa dolosa,
  Irruet in Francos, hinc magis ille furor.
Extitit hæc quondam Pictavis subdita juri
  Egidii, consul quam tenet arte, dolo.
Ars, dolus, inconstans Constantia [2] ni subiisset
  Consulis ejusdem jura secunda thori.
Nam leo tunc noster magnis hanc viribus urbem
  Impetiit, ratio dum sibi jusque favent.
Dum parat ut ferro, balistis, ariete crebro
  Aut ruat aut cedat, nuntius inde volat,

Henry hears that the king of France is in Toulouse.

Regem Francorum, clausum sapienter in urbem,
  Tela parare, neces, ut soror ipsa jubet.
Rex velut orator legiones convocat, adsunt
  Et regni proceres militiæque duces.
Ut genus exposcit causæ deliberativum,[3]
  Ponit, distribuit, utiliusque legit.

Henry asks the advice of his nobles as to pressing the siege.

Orditur, narrat, confirmat, sicque refutat,
  Claudit, et ex istis quatuor, illa regit.
An dominum regem clausum subvertat et urbem;
  An vivum capiat, consul et ipsa ruat;
Urgeat an clausos muris ad deditionem;
  Exspectet potius hanc sine rege capi.

[1] *dum*, in the MS.

[2] Raymond of St. Gilles married Constance, sister of Louis VII.

[3] A flaw in the metre, as in many other places.

Hisque peroratis bis binis, concionator
Epilogo stringit singula, cuncta ligat.
Consulit inde duces, quærit, deliberat; ex his
Quatuor, utilius quid sibi, quidve suis.
Quodlibet ex primis tribus his, vis militis audax
Expetit, hortatur, id feritate cupit.
Ingenium procerum simul experientia rerum
Ut quartum teneat consulit, illud agat.

Out of deference to the French king, Henry relinquishes the attack.

fo. 117.

Regibus Anglorum facinus miserabile, regem
Frangere Francorum, deditione premi.[1]

R. de Monte, vi. 510.

Clausis parcendum, pietatem solvere victis,
Urbem ne repleat planctibus, igne, nece.
Consilio procerum rex regi parcit et urbi,
Pars patriæ fuerat jamque subacta sibi.

Cap. XIII.

De profectione ejusdem apud Walenses, Anglorum regnum latrociniis et cædibus infestantes.

Henry invades Wales.

Advolat hinc, Anglos repetit, Walensibus instat,[2]
Quos dolus, ars, feritas incitat, armat, alit.
Hos indignari socios sibi collaterales
Jungere, lætari sanguine, carmen ait.
Subdola gens, fallaxque nimis, sine jure, latenter
Occupat, incendit, diripit, audet, habet.
Hæc feritate leo quanto propellitur, arcet,
Instat et instigat, cedere victa nequit.
In bellis audax, nec stat truculentior usquam,
Nam bellando mori gloria summa sibi.

---

[1] William of Newburgh, p. 125, also gives this as the reason. So also Robertus de Monte (Pertz VI., p. 510), drawing perhaps from the same source. French historians (*e.g.*, Martin, iv. p. 468) regard it as a mere excuse.

[2] The poem gives the impression that these events followed in close succession. The Toulouse expedition ended in 1160. Henry was abroad until Jan. 1163. He visited Normandy in the Lent of 1165, went against the Welsh in the same year, and returned to Normandy in the Lent of 1166.

Dum vastant, cædunt, prædantur, regia virtus
Obviat, impellit, proterit, hosque fugat.
Mortibus alternis desudans bellica virtus
Hos illos jaculis vulnerat, ense necat.
Sic sors, sic bellum, nunc hos, nunc obruit illos,
Dantque feruntque simul vulnera, tela,[1] neces.
Hostibus ad tempus rex tandem pacificatis,
Partibus in nostris æquore vectus adest.

Having made a temporary settlement of Welsh affairs, he returns to Normandy.

Cap. XIV.

De Francorum gente, quod a Troja in Thraciam venerint, urbem Sicambriam sibi fecerint, sed post longum tempus per Valentinianum imperatorem bellis plurimis afflicti in Germaniam transierint; Galliam totam occupaverint, nec inde postea ejici potuerint, ideoque Francos quasi feroces eos appellaverint:[2] qui postmodum, per Karolum magnum, Italiæ et Alamanniæ dominium obtinuerint, et post multa annorum curricula, tempore Karoli Simplicis Francorum regis, Dani cum exercitu in Franciam venerint.

The origin of the Frankish race: its descent from the Trojans.

Gesta Reg. Francorum (Bouquet, ii., 542, 3).

Francorum feritas Danorum prœlia rursus
Concitat, et regem cogit ad arma suum.
Horum jam totiens claros experta triumphos,
Hinc retulit nullum jus speciale sibi.
Hos glacialis hiems, borealis nutriit aura,
Frigore durati mollia quæque terunt.
Illos meridies[3] solari lumine torret,
Jure resolvendo corpora, mollit eos.
Gallorum vires stravit vis Cæsariana:
Francigenis nondum Gallia nota fuit.
Trojani belli Francos subversio fudit,
Thracia suscepit Danubiusque simul.

---

[1] *dampna*, MS. originally, but the correction is by the original hand.

[2] *Romani* omitted?

[3] A metrical flaw. See lines 495, 497, 519, and many others.

Founding of Sicambria.

Nobilis urbs fit ab his Sicambria, clara triumphis,
Divitiis, silvis, flumine, vite, situ.
Pluribus hæc annis viguit, Valentiniani
Tempus ad usque, sibi subdita, visque sibi.
Nativa feritate potens opibusque superba
Tempnit Romulidas, hisque tributa negat.

Gest. Reg. Franc., 543, B.

Strenuus hinc surgit Valentinianus in armis,
Troja progenitos viribus, ense petit.
Germinis antiqui memores, cuneis galeatis
Sicambri statuunt prœlia, signa, duces.
Congressu vario variantur vulnera, strages:
Hic fugat, hic cedit, sternitur, isque ruit.

fo. 117 *b.*

Sævit vis Teucrum, Romanis cedere nescit,
Gloria Romanos incitat, hosque movet.

Defeat of the Franks by the Romans.

Romulidas gnaros bellandi viribus arcent,
Pro patria pugnant viribus, arte, manu.
Afflictos demum Teucros, nec jam superatos,
Thracia transmittit, quo sua fata vocant.
Alpibus ascensis, tenet hos Germania, Rhenus.
Hinc Gallos superant; mœnia, tecta locant.
Horrida bella gerunt, sibi subdunt ardua quæque:
Hos timet, hic cedit Gallica turba ducum.
Roma duces Teucrum, transcensis Alpibus, audit
Gallica regna sibi subdere, bella geri.
Sævit Roma ferox, furit hinc Valentinianus
Cæsar: quos domuit Roma tenere nequit?
Imperii virtus Romani Gallica tendit
Mœnia, sic Teucris prœlia sæva parat.
Montibus inde Jovis, tironibus undique lectis,
Labitur, armato milite cuncta replet.
Bellis præteritis Teucrum constantior ira
Omnibus id præfert, vincere sive mori.
Ordine bellorum legiones constituuntur,
Tollitur hinc clamor, personat inde tuba.
Aër densatur telorum turbine multo;
Pectora, thoraces, lancea prona subit.

Congeminant ictus, cassis mucrone cruento
Finditur, armorum fulmine bella sonant.
Romani numero, Teucri superant feritate,
Sed numerum feritas detrahit, ense secat.
Obstinata furit Trojanæ gloria prolis,
Nam subit exilium victa, vel ense necem.
Nil sibi jam medium circumspicit, omnia temptat,
Ut leo jam sævit, ut ferus instat aper.
Æstuat, obtruncat, prosternit, fulminat, ardet;
Aut Teucri vincent aut morientur ibi.
Sanguinis hinc rivi campos Rhenumque cruentant,
Horribilis strages undique cuncta tenet.
Ut furor hostilis reprimatur, tunc Jovis ales
Altius erigitur, sed furit inde magis.
Irruit in signum, stat ibi Valentinianus,
Hic furor Hectoreus vivit et ense micat.
Hic Marchomirus, Sonno, Genebaldus in armis
Ceu tria fulmina stant, ac feritate pares.
Hosque duces Teucrum Sicambria magna refudit,
Hi belli rabies, hi probitatis honor.
Intendunt cuneos aquilam juxta penetrare
Cæsaris, hic vitæ summa necisque manet.
Scinditur[1] inde phalanx, via ferro facta patescit, *fo.* 118.
Romulidum virtus obstupefacta fuit.
Prœlia turbantur, Teucrum vis[2] sævit et ira,
Diffugiunt acies non sine cæde tamen.
Admirans Teucros Cæsar Valentinianus,
Dum superare nequit, jam superatus abit.
Nominat hos Francos veluti feritate feroces,[3]
Res tulit hoc nomen quod sibi Roma dedit.
Hinc jam Francorum crescit cum nomine virtus,
Et sibi Gallorum subdita regna facit,

Origin of the Frankish name.

[1] A third hand appears here, proceeding as far as line 570.

[2] *vix* imperfectly altered to *vis* MS.

[3] Apparently a misreading of the "*Gesta Francorum Regum*" (Bouquet, ii., 542). Valentinian is there said to have given them the name after their victory over the Alani.

Nec contenta suis, Romanos ipsa lacessit,
Ac mundi dominam jam facit esse suam.
Hæc Karolus magnus mira virtute peregit,
Primus et in Romam Francica signa tulit.
Francos, Romanos, Alamannos possidet unus;
Unica vis unum sic tria regna facit.
Tempore post multo Karolus cognomine Simplex
Sceptra gerens Francis imperat, hosque regit.
Deliciis mollita suis, quæ viribus obsunt,
Perdiderat geminum Francia clara thronum.
Non jam Romanis regnabat, non Alamannis,
Unum quod fuerat cœperat esse duo.

Charlemagne's empire.

Its dissolution under Charles le Simple.

Cap. XV.

De situ Daciæ, et de Lobroco rege ejusdem provinciæ, cujus filii Hinguar et Huga Angliam cum exercitu intraverint [et] vastaverint, regem Edmundum peremerint.[1] *Et [quod] in tempore supradicti regis Lobroci, Hastingus, cum filio ipsius regis nomine Bier Costa-ferrea, cum exercitu Danorum Franciæ fines ingressus eamdem vastaverit. Ad extremum, ut pacem cum Francis haberet, rex Francorum consilio*[2] *procerum comitatum Carnotensem eidem dedit.*

Examen nostrum tunc fundit[3] Dacia tellus;
Vi, probitate, manu, clarius esse nequit.
Continet hæc igitur magnas bis quatuor urbes;
Metropolis Londis,[4] quæ diadema tenet,
Regalis sedes et regem sola coronat:
Tellus dives, at hæc frigida vite caret.

Denmark pours forth the swarms of Northmen.

---

[1] *peremerunt*, MS.
[2] *concilio*, MS.
[3] *fudit*, MS.
[4] Lund, in Sweden, between Landskrona and Malmö. Formerly capital of the Danish kingdom.

Saxoniæque Comes hunc suscipit inde liquorem;
  Partibus ex geminis cingitur ipsa mari.
Argenti puri numismata conficit ipsa,
  Exundans opibus, stat sine monte quidem.

Waldemar now reigns in Denmark, then it was ruled by Regner Lodbrok, whose son Biorn Ironsides went forth with Hastings. Rollo soon followed.

Pulchra situ, silvisque virens, portuque jocunda,
  Piscibus exundat fluminis, inde maris.
Hæc geminis telis Francorum perculit urbes,
  Nulla sibi fidei luxerat ante dies.
Insignita fide nunc Trino servit et Uni:
  Waldamarus[1] ibi regia sceptra gerit.
Rex fuit hic magnus Lobrocus, tempore cujus W.Gemet., 216 D.
  Advenit Hastingus, sic simul ipse Bier.
Lobroci natus fuit hic. Hos Dacia misit.
  Paulo post socios Rollo secutus adest.
Hingar et Huba simul Lobroci regia proles, *fo.* 118 *b.*
  Viribus audaces, sunt probitate pares.
Funus post patrium rex Hingar, fratre favente,
  Arripit arma, rates instruit; unda favet.
Danorum primi gentes alias spoliarunt,
  Exemplar sociis in feritate pari.

Ingwair and Hubba invade East Anglia.

Appulit hæc classis Edmundi regis ad urbes.
  Has vincit, spoliat, vi, feritate, manu.
Rex igitur regi mandat, nil tale verenti,
  Ut tria perficiat vel sibi bella sciat.
Thesauros tribuat, diis libet, sceptra sub ipso
  Amodo detineat, sicque redibit ovans.
Hinc lento sequitur gressu subcenturiatus,
  Æstimat id velut est quod vetet ille tria.
Audit et incautum circumvenit; undique septus
  Clauditur, hinc capitur, silva retentat eum.

Martyrdom of St. Edmund, king of the East Angles.

Cæditur ille, caput capiti, Christo sociandus,
  Martyris obsequiis hic celebrandus erat.
Hostis discedit. Regem dum turba requirit,
  Invenit hic corpus, nec videt illa caput.

---

[1] Waldemar the Great, king of Denmark, 1157-1182.

Longius in dumis illud projecerat hostis,
Nescius abscissum corpore posse loqui.

His severed head speaks.

Flet, gemit, inquirens circumspicit, omnia lustrat,
"Her" proprio ritu regia lingua sonat.[1]

Abbo Floriac. Hist. Pass. S. Edm.

Curritur ad vocem notam, caput hic reperitur,
Gaudet hic invento, condolet ille neci.
Pars sociæ parti sociatur, sic sepelitur,
Thesaurus latet hic, nil ibi vermis habet.

His body, like that of certain other saints, remains uncorrupted.

Tempore condigno transfertur, et integer extat,
Incorrupta caro undique clamat eum.

Henry of Huntingdon, lib. ix.

Martyris Oswaldi regis caput arcet in ulnis
Cuthbertus similis integritate pari.
Sic Edeldridæ corpus manet inviolatum,
Ut fuit integra mens, sic viget alma caro.
Jure pari geminos invenit Mediolani
Ambrosius, mirum! sanguinis unda recens.

Paulinus, Vit. S. Ambr.

Urbibus et villis incensis depopulatis,
Hingar cum sociis in sua jura redit.
Solibus hinc fusis multis, Hastingus in alto
Navigat, et classis bellica multa nimis.

Hastings becomes Count of Chartres.

Danus et ipse ferox Francorum diruit urbes,
Carnotum superat, detinet, obstat, habet.
Suscipit hunc laticis fons vivus, crimina delet,
Pluribus hinc annis vixit, et astra petit.

fo. 119.

Hastings came in the year 851, and remained as foe or as ruler 26 years.

Cum petiit[2] Francos octingentesimus unus
Quinquies et denus luminis annus erat.[3]
Francia ter senis bis binis quatuor annis[4]
Pertulit hunc[5] hostem primitus, inde ducem:[6]
Hujus tunc numeri fuerat penultimus annus,
Altera[7] cum classis bella secunda movet.

[1] "Caput martyris, quod non "longius infra densitatem saltus "abscondissent, . . . prorupit in "vocem . . . et . . . respondebat "designando locum patria lingua "dicens, 'her, her, her,' quod in-"terpretatum Latinus sermo ex-"primit, 'hic, hic, hic.'" Abbo Floriacensis, *Hist. de Passione S. Edmundi Reg. et Mart.* (Cott. Tib., B. II. *f.* 13).

[2] *Sc. Hastingus*, M.

[3] *Anno* 851, M.

[4] *Sc.* 26 *annis*, M.

[5] *Sc. Hastingum*, M.

[6] *Id est comitem Carnotensem*, M.

[7] *Sc. Rolonis. Adventus Rolonis*, M.

In 876, the last but one of these years, another fleet came.

W. Gemet., 227 C.

Octies a Verbo centenus, sicque quaternus
 Septies et denus binus hic annus erat.[1]

Cap. XVI.

De adventu Rollonis cum Danorum exercitu in regnum Francorum, vivente adhuc Hastingo comite Carnotensi, et de depopulatione eorum.

The arrival of Rollo.

Turbine navali Danorum clara juventus
 Hinc mare sulcando Francica regna petit.
Hos prius Hastingus, post fulgur Rollo[2] tonantis
 Duxit, flos juvenum nobilitasque ducum.
Nudatis gladiis Francos galeata juventus
 Provocat, invadit, sauciat, hosque fugat.
Urbes ingreditur, succendit, depopulatur;
 Obstantes subicit; cædibus, igne furit.
Quam variis bellis insignis fulserit, hujus
 Carminis et brevitas, et locus ipse vetat.
Summa rei, cursu navali cuncta pererrat,
 Inspicit, explorat, diripit, ambit opes.

He first burns Nantes and ravages Brittany; thence he goes to Angers;

Primitus exurit Nannetum, jamque Britannos
 Straverat. Arturus nesciit ista geri.
Ad classem remeat spoliis opibusque refertam,[3]
 Andegavim tendit, bella cruenta parat.
Armis ornatus variis exercitus ingens
 Classes linquit, init prœlia, castra movet.
Excipiturque trium comitum bello triplicato,

fights against three counts;

 Quos timor univit, majus ut instet onus.
Belli principio fuit his tam fervida virtus,
 Ut classi referat quos vigor ipse tulit.
Inde sub aurora claris structis aciebus
 Hostes aggrediens, hos necat, hosque fugat.

burns Angers;

Andegavim captam Vulcano lambere tradit;
 Sublatis opibus, littora cara subit.

---

[1] *Anno* 876, M.

[2] Dudo, W. of Jumièges, and Wace are silent as to the facts narrated as far as l. 898, nor has Sir F. Palgrave traced them elsewhere.

[3] *referta*, MS.

Hæc agit. Instigat vis cœlica gnara futuri;
Crimina sic plebis judicat Ille parens.
Audit Pictavim populosam ferrea classis,
Sperat opes, tendit carbasa, currit iter.
Advenit hinc urbem; castellis undique victis,
Irruit, obtruncat, diripit, ardet, abit.
Lemovicas itidem simili feritate perurit;
Post Noviomenses diruit, igne cremat.
Ad classem remeat, molitur maxima, fidit
Fatis: cuncta sibi prospera, triste nihil.
Armis insignis Francos petit, Aurelianum
Obsidet, incendit; sola stat aula crucis.
fo. 119 *b.* Undique [1] bellorum strepitu vallatur et armis,
Simplice cum Karolo [2] Francia tota furit.
Sed simplex animus, pugnandi viribus impar,
Aut ruit aut cedit, dum feritate caret.
Nuper in auxilium Rollonis classica virtus
Venerat a Danis fortis amica ducis.

sacks Poictier

burns Limoges, Noyon, and also

Orleans, but spares the cathedral.

Cap. XVII.

De bello inter Francos et exercitum Rollonis, in quo Karolus a Rollone duce cum suis superatur.

Ligeris in ripis munita classe relicta,
In Karolum Rollo prœlia, tela, movet.
Ordinat instructas legiones, cuncta recenset,
Arma, viros, cuneos, cornua, signa, duces.
Stans coram cuneis armatus concionatur,
Et patria lingua commonet esse viros.
Demonstrativo generi subjecta perorat,
Francos vituperat, laudat ubique suos.

Rollo leaves his fleet on the Loire.

He addresses his men.

---

[1] There is a change of hand which lasts through *fo.* 119 *b.* only.

[2] Charles le Simple at this date (A.D. 876) was only king *de jure*. His actual reign began in 899.

Orditur, variis superatis gentibus armis
Plures regna sibi substituisse manu.
Narrat, qui Dani, quid quærant, curve laborent,
Quæ sibi spes, aut quid prœlia tanta gerant.
Confirmat, Gallos ut Franci jam superarunt,
Sic sibi Francigenum subdere colla ducum.
Confutat, quod Francus ait sine diis sibi regnum
Quærere, vel quod in hoc jus sibi majus inest.
Concludit, gentes alias Francosque petisse
Sedes, divitias; Danus at ista petit.
Hisque peroratis, legionum consonat ardor;
Gloria nexve sibi permanet iste dies.

The French sovereign prepares to resist.

Rex igitur bellique duces Franci galeati
Adversis cuneis hostibus arma parant.
Dissueti bellis et longa pace remissi,
Cum numero superent, par sibi fervor abest.
Bellorum virtus est, ut Vegetius inquit,
Militiæ probitas, non numerosa manus.

Veget. *De Re Milit.*, i. cap. 1.

O mira feritate viros, mirique vigoris,
Tot cuneos tanta sic penetrare manu!
Bellica vis, animi feritas, sedisque cupido
Danorum cuneos edocet, urget, habet.
Horribilis sonitus hinc militis, inde tubarum,
Exoritur, Danus belliger ense fremit.
Arma volant, hinc scuta sonant, lorica calore
Mollior, et cassis scissa cruore madet.
Vulnera congeminat Danus, nam cautior armis *fo.* 120.
Ictu continuo vulnus adauget idem.
Instat Francigenum virtus, impellere classi
Hostiles cuneos; vanus at iste labor.

The Northmen are everywhere victorious in the field.

Hinc violenta phalanx Danorum perforat ense
Regales acies, cetera turba ruunt.
Quos reperit primos confodit, sævit et arcet,
Nulla quies ferri, cædibus arva calent,
Hic Karolus Simplex, non simplicitate coactus,
Barbaricis armis arva cruenta sinit.

Fusis tot Francis, Danos blasphemat eundo,
Hos missos ovibus judicat esse lupos.
Flens detestatur, prædones nuncupat, orat
Ut voret hos tellus, fulminet ipse Jovis.[1]
Martyrium tribuit patriam defendere nisis;
Abstulerant Gallis hanc prius, idque silet.
Francos sic superat Danus, quos Roma nequivit:
His etiam quondam subdita Roma fuit.
Plausibus insultat Danus, spoliisque potitur,
Nobilis iste dies, gloria perpes ei.
Dicit Francorum cuneos nunc nosse quid armis
Danus possit, et his amodo notus erit.
Sese Romanis præfert, præfert Alamannis;
Vicerat hos Francus, hic superavit eum.
Vastat et incendit, redit ad navalia, rursus
Instruitur classis, non remanebit ibi.
Subdere delegit sibi claram Cæsaris urbem,
Hæc placet, hanc solam flumine vecta petit.
O violenta virum virtus! o classis alumna
Belli! Vis animi quæ fuit ista tibi?
Aut tibi per medios Francos victoria summa,
Aut reditus turpis, Cæsaris urbe cares.
Quid moror? horribilis vi, ferro, principe, classis
Dum Rodomum tendit, subdere cuncta cupit.
Rollo ferus claudi legionibus imperat urbes,
Irruit, occidit, concremat, inde rapit.
Francorum medio Danorum ferrea classis
Transvehitur. Virtus hoc agit alta virum.
Sequana læta vehit classem; nec clarior ulla
Milite, divitiis, ac probitate ducis.
Dum Rodomum pergit, Belvacum cernere gliscit,
Exit, abit, claudit, diripit, hincque redit.
Sic auro spoliis classis jam tota referta,
Vi sedem faciet, dum timor omnis abest.

The Northmen advance by water on Rouen.

They plunder Beauvais.

[1] Thus MS.

Cap. XVIII.

[*fo.* 108.]* *De* adventu Rollonis cum navali prælio apud Rothomagum, et quomodo urbem intraverit, Francone archiepiscopo obviante pacemque petente.*

The advance of Rollo on Rouen.

Cæsaris urbs celebris Romano germine creta *fo.* 120 *b.*
A Danis petitur; novit, et arma parat.
Urbs antiqua, potens, populosa, decora, jocunda,
Divitiis pollens, nobilitate, situ.
Labitur hinc fluvius dulcis potuque salubris,
Navigiis clarus, piscibus unda ferax.[1]
Desuper adveniens alius decurrit in urbem,
Utilis, at primus undique grana molit.

Description of the city.

Hinc alius similis cursum deflectit ab Ortu.
Deserit Occasum tertius, inde fluit.
Fons ortu dubius mediam transcurrit in urbem,
Et duplici cives utilitate fovet.
Collibus et silvis hinc cingitur, inde nitescit
Fructibus, et pratis stat speciosa satis.
Crescere vix patitur botryones[2] frigida tellus,
Munere tam claro Francia servit ei.
Mœnia non recolo, turres portusque relinquo,
Civibus atque locis aura salubris adest.
Urbs igitur florens sibi cernitur esse perennis,
Dum semper variis affluit ipsa bonis.
Armari socios Rollo jubet, arduus instat,
Et classi breviter concionatur ita:

Rollo's speech to his followers.

"O socii magni, legionum flos specialis,
"Se fore quemque virum nunc meminisse decet.
"Quid variis bellis tantos superasse labores
"Proderit, optata sede carendo diu?

Refers to Hastings' settlement

"En Hastingus habet Carnotum, consulis arcem
"Obtinet, et Franci jam sine cæde favent.

[1] *Recognitio villæ* (sic) *Rothom.*, M.

[2] *Boterones*, Mai; *botones*, Omont. The MS. clearly reads *botriones*.

“ Hic nostri primus generis navalia bella
“ Francis intonuit, nos imitamur eum.
“ Fallitur hinc Francus quod nos acciverit idem,
“ Falso culpat eum, nescius ille fuit.
“ Quinis jam lustris tanta probitate peractis,
“ Summo cum sociis culmine degit adhuc.
“ Nec minor in nobis feritas, par fervor ad arma,
“ Spes eadem, virtus maxima, parque genus.
“ Nobilis hæc tellus, dives, fecunda, decora,
“ Hæc fessis requies; hic habitare libet.
“ Hujus[1] opes et amor me dudum detinet urbis,
“ Omnibus ex rebus commodus iste locus.

as Count of Chartres. Hastings not only did not fetch him, but was unaware of his coming.

“ Hic aliud belli genus est, nam cetera quæque
“ Urere, prædari, sternere moris erat.
“ His tribus amotis, urbem sedem faciamus,
“ Subdita sit nobis, integra cuncta sibi.
“ Armis obstantes armis pellamus in urbem,
“ Cædibus haud[2] multis ingrediamur eam.
“ Ariete, balistis, superentur Cæsaris arces,
“ Implacidus civis sentiat ense necem.
“ Substrata[3] nostris tam clara viribus urbe,
“ Quarum vis minor est flectere colla licet.”

Let the city be spared for permanent occupation.

Hinc silet, et clamor legionum fertur ad astra,
Consilium laudat cum probitate ducis.

The attack on Rouen.

fo. 121. Sol oritur, rutilis geminatur fulgor in armis,
Cum fluvio tellus irradiata nitet.
Imminet hinc urbi, clangorem Rollo tubarum
Imperat audiri, scuta parare jubet.
Ordinat inde rates; quæ vi præstantior, armis
Promptior existit, prima tenere facit.
Præcipit hinc alias ferro transmittere pontem,
Civibus ut fessis undique bella gerant.
Armis terribilis classis tunc cernitur urbi,
Exerit horribilem bucina multa sonum.

---

[1] *Pro villa etc.*, M.

[2] *haut*, MS., a common mediæval form of *haud*. Cardinal Mai and M. Omont amend *ac*, but (see *ll.* 839, 891, 892) *haud* is, as a mere question of emendation, the more probable reading, for Rollo is represented as desiring to spare bloodshed.

[3] *substracta*, MS.

Armati cives densantur littora circum,
Mœnibus et ferro civis obumbrat opes.

Rollo's fleet passes the bridge, but he finds the ground unsuited to his operations.

Occupat hinc classis fluvium, pontemque subintrat.
Hic exire ratem nititur, ille vetat.
Jungitur urbs fluvio, nec belli stat locus ullus,
Mons tenet hinc Ortum, lambit et unda pedem.
Ni stragem faciat, vel ni succenderit urbem,
Occasum teneat, quo sibi prata virent.

He desires to spare bloodshed. Repasses the bridge and lands on the western meadows.

Inspicit id Rollo, monet istos parcere civi,
Transvolat hinc pontem, florida prata capit.
Exilit hic legio, tellus tegitur galeatis,
Dux prior arma rapit, stat violenta phalanx.
Prospicit Occasum locus hic, parvus sed amœnus
Sub clivo residet fluminis, urbis amor.
Perpetuam tenet hic famam, quam Danica virtus
Contulit, et belli nomine prata nitent.[1]
Parce tuis, Rollo; legiones, parcite victis:
Cæsaris urbs florens amodo vestra manet.
Hanc vobis Jesus tribuit, cum credat in Illum;
Non Jovis[2] ipse, fidem cujus habetis adhuc.
Novit quid, quando, quibus, et per quos operetur:
Pervigil hic semper, mundus et iste suus.
Non sors, non fatum, non constellatio mundi
Res movet aut mutat, sed vigor ipse Dei.
Hujus jus patriæ vestrum vestrisque futurum
Sic statuit, sic vult, sic jubet Ille potens:
Abluet,[3] ut novit, puri vos unda lavacri,
Inclyta progenies vestra perennis erit.
Ira, furor, Francos agitabit, tollere quærent
Belligeris Danis quod Deus ipse dabit.
Aut velit aut nolit, tenet hoc semperque tenebit:
Cum Teucris Dani vivere semper habent.
Dux igitur classem jam cernens obtinuisse
Flumen, in armatos undique bella movet.

[1] The meadow to the west was called the *Pré de la Bataille*. W. of Jumièges (234, B.) attributes this name to the battle of A.D. 932 against Riulf. This passage asserts an earlier origin.

[2] See l. 738.

[3] The MS. clearly reads *abluet ut novit*. This dissipates the difficulty felt by Cardinal Maï.

Perstrepit urbs planctu, miles furit, obstat et arcet
  Civis, et hostilis clamor ad astra volat.
Urbis vis juvenum gladiis accincta repente
  Mœnibus egreditur, cum duce prata tenet.
Dux lætus sociis captam nunc asserit urbem,
  Civibus ac sociis,[1] "Ingrediemur," ait.

A body of the besieged makes a sally.

fo. 121 *b.* Egressumque globum paulatim cingere jussit,
  Undique conclusos agminis ense ferit.
Aut classem repetas, aut vincas, aut moriaris,
  Dane ferox! Urbem scito sed esse tuam.
Nascitur hinc bellum: cives hic pellit in urbem,
  Ut classem repetat cogitur ille suam.
Hic fugit, hic cedit, ruit hic, collabitur ille,
  In chalybem gladius figitur, igne micat.

The Northmen surround them by degrees.

Ast aliud[2] bellum fit ubi pons jungitur urbi,
  Hoc illoque loco Danus in arma furit.
Fessi jam cives quæ Rollo prata tenebat
  Linquunt, arma tegunt qui periere nece.
Rollo furens urbem consertus civibus intrat,
  Cives diffugiunt, planctus ubique sonat.

Another fight proceeds at the bridge.

Terrent hæc alios pugnantes littore, cedunt,
  Insequitur Danus, mœnia capta tenet.
Mucronem metuens civis consentit, obedit.
  Arcibus hinc captis, Rollo subacta regit.[3]
Gazas multimodas Danus deportat in urbem,
  Membra quies refovet; jam labor omnis abest.

Rollo, driving back the citizens who sallied out, enters the city with them.

Principis ex jussu combustum, depopulatum,
  Cæsum nil fuerat, urbsque subacta tremit.
Omnibus ad votum rebus jam Rollo peractis,
  Urbes contiguas occupat, implet, habet.
Castellis, villis superatis, cetera quæque
  Distribuit sociis, urbibus hosque locat.

He abstains from slaughter and burning. Occupies the neighbouring cities, and distributes fiefs among

---

[1] *associis*, MS.

[2] *De duplici bello per Rolonem contra villam Rothomagum antequam eam intraret*, M.

[3] This is a wholly different account of Rollo's occupation of Rouen from that which Dudo of St. Quentin and William of Jumièges supply. The *Roman de Rou* follows these chroniclers.

his followers. Bishop Franco engratiates himself with the invaders.

Obvius exierat præsul Franco galeatis,
  Reddidit hos mites pacificosque sibi.

Cap. XIX.

Quod postquam Rollo Rothomagum cepit, Karolus rex cum Francis concilium habuit. Hastingum Danum, Carnotensem comitem, ob linguæ peritiam, cum Rainaldo Francorum dapifero et exercitu, ad colloquium Rollonis misit. Rollo cum suis castellum Archas[1] veniens, se a Francis nihil tenere [dixit]. Post colloquium ab ipsis lacessitus, Rollandum, non illum Karoli Magni ducem, cum aliqua exercitus parte peremit. Hastingus cum Rainaldo principe fugit; Rollo rediens Mellentum cum exercitu, venit ibique iterum Rainaldus cum exercitu Francorum: commissoque prælio, Rainaldum Rollo cum plurimis Francorum interemit. Hinc Parisius obsedit; sed Francis pacem petentibus, ab obsidione cum suis recessit.[2]

Intonuit Francis captam jam Cæsaris urbem[3] W. Gemet., 228.
  Imperat his Rollo sedibus, urbsque favet.
Insanit Francus, Karolus fremit, accelerato
  Concilio, queritur quod sua Danus habet.
Hortatu procerum princeps a rege secundus[4]
  Mittitur, Hastingo consule dante manum.
Hinc adeunt Danum, qui multo milite cinctus
  Obviat, et campos militis arma replent.

Charles sends Ragnald and Hastings against the Northmen.

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[1] *Id est pontem Archæ*, M.

[2] This goes beyond the matter contained in the poem itself: the *raising* of the siege is not mentioned.

[3] *Id est Rothomagum*, M.

[4] "Ragnoldus princeps totius Franciæ," Dudo, p. 76. Our author is crowding events together, misled by W. of Jumièges. The Vedastine Annals (see p. 627, note 2) supply the correcting date.

Nec minor his numerus, sed Francus viribus impar
Archis castra locant, undique cuncta timent.
Dux Raynaldus adest; Hastingi lingua polita,
Ut sociis Danis Danica verba sonat.
Inquirit qui sint, quis dux, quæ causa laboris,
Vel si Francigenis subdere colla velint:
Hastingi nomen Dani si fama tulisset
Auribus, aut Christum si pietate colant.

The French encamp at Pont-de-l'Arche, and a parley ensues.

His breviter Rollo: "Dani sumus,[1] agminis hujus
"Dux ego, summa rei subdere regna mihi.
"Nos non Francigenis subdemur, non alienis;
"Quidquid subjicimus jussio nostra tenet.
"Novimus Hastingi famam, nam belliger armis
"Francigenum domitor, marcidus ecce jacet!
fo. 122. "Christum nescimus,[2] patriis diis thurificamus,
"Atque Creatori, qui sua cuncta regit."

Rollo answers that he will not submit to the French king.

Singula sic tangens, Francis jubet ista referri,
Nescius Hastingi consulis esse sonum.

He knows only the name of Hastings.

Ille redit, narrat, procerum furor æstuat, arma
Congregat, et Danos ense necare parat.
Aggere defosso vallari castra suorum
Rollo jubet, planam deserit inde viam.
Imperat armatis sedeant scutisque tegantur,
Hostibus ut pateat parvula tanta manus.[3]

Rollo entrenches and orders his men to lie close within the camp.

---

[1] The MS. clearly reads, *Dani sumus*. The words in Dudo, too, are "Dani sumus, Dacia advecti huc" (76 D.). M. Omont seems to have followed Cardinal Mai in reading "*nam primus*."

[2] No question as to their religion is recorded: this is mere poetic license.

[3] This passage shows that the author did not here draw *directly* on Dudo of St. Quentin, but *indirectly* through William of Jumièges. Dudo (77 A.B.) merely says, "Daci vero "intrinsecus hinc et inde per planitiem castri accubitarunt, atque "*scutis se cooperuerunt*," but a few lines further on, in describing the *second* battle (77 C.), he says, "Normanni autem se conglobantes "strictim accubitaverunt se, *ut parvissima putaretur summa eorum*." William of Jumièges (p. 228), in abridging Dudo, takes this phrase and adds it to the first, saying, in his account of the *first* battle, "*scutis se cooperuerunt, ut parvissima putaretur summa eorum*." Etienne de Rouen has followed the error. See also p. 628, note 1.

Roland charges into the "street" of the camp, followed by Ragnald and Hastings. The Northmen spring up to attack. Roland falls. Ragnald and Hastings flee. Rollo on his way to Paris sacks Meulan.

Aggeris inde viam Rollandus, dux legionis,
  Ingreditur: Dani dissimulando favent.
Raynaldus sequitur, Carnoti consule juncto;
  Danos scuta tegunt, sed dolus arte latet.
Rollonis subito, protractis ensibus, agmen
  Exilit, et Francos undique mucro ferit.
Rollandus, non ille potens qui sub[1] Pyrenæi
  Collibus interiit, cæsus ab hoste ruit.
Tantam Francigenum stragem cum principe consul
  Cernentes fugiunt, vix sua castra tenent.
His Rollo victis, navali turbine rursus
  Parisius tendit, lætus ad arma volat.
Classis Mellentum veniens obtruncat et ardet,
  Diripit, at tantos pellere nemo valet.
Francigenis iterum Danorum fulgur adesse
  Dicitur, et Danis bella parantur item.
Victi jam totiens, Franci necdum superantur:
  Quod casu fieret, vi superare volunt.
Præteritis cæsis cuneis, alii renovantur,
  Raynaldus remeat belliger, ultor erit.

Ragnald collects an army and returns for revenge. The Northmen are encamped by the river.

Dedecus iste fugæ simul et cædem legionis
  Advenit ulcisci, ruminat alta nimis.
Fluminis ad ripas, quo Dani castra locarant
  Advolat, excipitur Francigenumque phalanx.
Autumat is fluvium Danorum sanguine tingi,
  Ut cruor exundans Cæsaris urbe meet.
Confligunt acies, virtus virtute gravatur,
  Armorum strepitu littora muta sonant.

Paris had sent untrained youths. Rollo's host occupies high ground and charges down.

Ignaros belli juvenes Lutetia misit;
  Hostis ad arma potens hos fugat hosque metit.
Res miseranda satis! colles hinc occupat hostis
  Ut levius sternat quos cava vallis habet.
Grandinis instar adest legio, Rollo quasi fulgur
  Collibus elapsus ense micante furit:[2]

[1] An *s* before *qui* has been marked out by a pen-stroke. This seems to have been read as *seu*, but the same thing happens on line 954. *Sub* (*sb*) certainly follows *qui*.

[2] The account of this battle is a paraphrase of the few words devoted to it by William of Jumièges (p. 229). There is nothing in his chronicle or in Dudo (77 C.) as to

Danorum cinctus cuneis dux, fulgidus armis,
Quo Raynaldus adest prœlia dira movet.
Præteritæ cædis memor et quam sit turpiter actus,[1]
Exserit hic Francus quidquid ad arma potest.
Præterea timidus ne Parisius potiatur,
Ictus continuos sustinet, isque refert.
Impetus hostilis, de collis vertice lapsus,
Ensibus obtruncat quos tenet ima palus.
Jam roseus fluvius Francorum cæde liquescit,
Reque satis dura mergit ubique suos.

The battle rages round Ragnald, who endeavours to cover Paris.

fo. 122 *b.*

Danorum virtus, quæ Francis cedere nescit,
Obruit, impellit, vulnerat, hosque necat;
Quæ duce confisa, quasi sævo firma leone,
Devorat, extinguit, stragibus arva replet.
Se violenter agi, prosterni viribus, ense,
Franci dum reputant, cedere quisque cupit.
Vincant sive neci succumbant, nam legiones
Vincere Danorum non suus ille labor.
Hic jam Francigenum Raynaldus dux legionum
Viribus et ferro totus ad arma ruit.
Sed cedunt socii, fugientes dum retinere
Nititur, hostilis surgit ad alta sonus.
Dux tandem fessus legionum Francigenarum
Cum reliquis cedens, Danica bella fugit.

The French yield and fly.

Heu sors flenda nimis! dum tendit ut insula sese
Detineat, telo figitur atque perit.[2]
Comperit id Rollo, fugientes opprimit armis,
Parisius veniens obsidione premit.

Ragnald crossing to an island is slain (Aug. 885).

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the Danes occupying heights and rushing down on the foe.

[1] Thus in MS. The metre also is faulty, but *sit* can scarcely be spared.

[2] A certain "*piscator Sequanæ*" killed him, Dudo (77 C.). This passage shows that it was while crossing to an island, probably in the man's boat. The Vedastine Annals (Bouquet, viii. 84) date the event.

Cap. XX.

Quod post occisionem Rainaldi Francorum principis Karolus rex cum Francis Hastingum pro adventu Danorum culpat. isque comitatum Carnotensem Thebaldo, cuidam Francorum principi, auro distrahit, Francorum regnum deserit. Karolus ad Rollonem, pro pacis fœdere, Franconem Rothomagensem archiepiscopum dirigit cum Francis. Hinc rex ad colloquium occurrens, in præsentia Danorum et Francorum, Normanniam, cum Britannia et Gisla filia sua, Rolloni dedit. Franco archiepiscopus cum Rollone et Roberto Francorum principe Rothomagum venit, Rollonem baptizavit, Robertus princeps eundem de fonte substulit, nomen suum ei imposuit, filiam regis despondit.

W. Gemet., 228 D.

Francigenas victos, Raynaldum jamque peremptum
  Audiit ut Karolus, flet populique gemunt.
Tutum nil Francis, ferus hostis victor ubique
  Armis impavidus cuncta pavere facit.
Viribus elatus, comperto quidquid in armis
  Francigenum valet ars, absque timore manet.

Hastings is blamed by the French. He sells Chartres, and departs.

Hastingus culpatur in his. Auro comitatum
  Thebaldo tribuit, sicque refertus abit.[1]
Rex, proceres, clerus, fessi, ceu nauta procellis,
  Ecclesiæ navim jam titubare vident.

---

[1] This proves that our author preferred the chronicle of W. of Jumièges. Dudo, who calls Hastings "incentor totius nequitiæ," does not mention the circumstance that, fearing a traitor's reward, he sold Chartres to Thibaut and disappeared. It is noteworthy that W. of Jumièges places the sale between the two disastrous battles, not as here after the second. Thibaut was related to Rollo.

W.Gemet., 231.

Bishop Franco is sent to negotiate.

Dirigitur Danis Franco,[1] Rollonis amicus,
Præsul et is Rodomi, Francigenumque duces.
His mandat Karolus vel Francia tota salutem,
Danica mirantur prœlia, quidve petant:
Si regni partem, si divitias et honores,
Munere gratuito Francia prompta[2] dabit.
Jure sibi fidei divinæ consocientur,
Et puri laticis purificentur aquis.

Rouen with six cities is offered to him.

Bis ternas urbes tribuet, cum Cæsaris urbe,[3]
Quæque favent istis cuncta redacta sibi.
Prospicit hæc tellus Britones qua tendit ad Austrum;
Qua Boream cernit, cingitur ipsa mari.
Anglos Occasu videt, Ortu Parisienses;
Andegavis sedet hinc, Flandria juncta manet.

He demands more land.

Tali pro terra se numquam pacificari
Rollo refert, tellus adjiciatur adhuc:

Rejects Flanders, but accepts Brittany.

Flandria tota datur, Karolus quam solus habebat:
Spernitur a Dano, tunc paludosa nimis.
Offerturque duci post tota Britannica tellus:
Suscipit hanc, nam tunc hæc opulenta satis:

Gisla is given to him in marriage.

Gisla, puella decens, regalis florida proles
Dano sponsa datur, Francia læta favet.
fo. 123. Rollo redit Rodomum, legionibus undique septus:
Dicere musa nequit, gloria quanta fuit.

---

[1] The author, neglecting the chroniclers, here takes a liberty with history beyond the limits even of poetic license. The death of Ragnald, the siege of Paris, and Hastings' sale of Chartres occurred in the year 885. The treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte, which now follows in the poem, was arranged in A.D. 911. Two regular sieges of Paris, beside many battles and events of the first importance, happened in these 26 years. Here the treaty is spoken of as the direct result of the battle in which Ragnald fell, although the siege of Paris is alluded to in the last line of the preceding chapter. See, however, lines 1041–45, in which a truer idea of time appears. The interval, of course, includes the "chasm" (900–911), which is practically a period lost to history.

[2] MS. has *prumpta*.

[3] *Nota situationem Normanniæ, etc.*, M.

Rollo, with the French nobles, returns to Rouen.

Jure triumphali Rodomensem Danus in urbem
Tendit, Francigenum quem comitatur apex,
Princeps Robertus, proceres et filia regis;
Regni nobilitas, pontificumque chorus.
Ecce dies clarus rutilat, fons rite sacratur; W.Gemet., 231 D.
Hinc miles, populus confluit, inde duces.

Rollo is baptised, A.D. 912.

Dux igitur Danus vivis submergitur undis,
Hic vetus ingreditur, sed novus exit homo.
Præsulis officio Rodomensis cuncta geruntur,
Astant pontifices, clerus et omnis adest.
Suscipit hunc de fonte sacro dux Francigenarum,
Nomine de proprio nomen adaptat ei.
Anni tunc novies centeni terque quaterni[1]
Transierant ex quo fit Deus altus homo.

Cap. XXI.

Quod ante baptismum suum per XXXVI.[2] *annos regnum Francorum Rollo vastaverit, exercitum suum baptizari fecerit, eumque per urbes et castella Normanniæ diviserit, Northmannos quasi boreales homines vocaverit; lingua enim Danica* north *boreas,* man *homo dicitur. Et de ipsius Rollonis morte, qui post baptismum annis quinque vixit, cui successit Willelmus filius ejus.*

Rollo had ravaged France for 36 years before his baptism.

Ter denis annis bis ternis ante lavacrum
Francica[3] vastavit mœnia Rollo potens.[4]
Perspicis hoc spatio verum quod tanta peregit
Bella, quibus pretium Neustria tota datur.
Contulit ecclesiis octonis[5] Rollo diebus,
In quibus albatur, munera multa nimis.

His marriage to Gisla.

Connubio stabili, Francis præsentibus, alto
Sanguine sponsatur regia virgo duci.

---

[1] *Sc. anno* ix^c^xii, M.

[2] This originally stood xxxiij, but the annotator interlines, *alias* xxxvj.

[3] *Francica*, MS., clearly.

[4] xxxvi. *annis vastavit Rollo Gallias ante suum baptismum*, M.

[5] The chroniclers say *seven*.

Fiefs granted to his followers.

Francigenum proceres redeunt, dux jura gubernat,
  Partitur sociis prædia, rura, nemus.
Northmannos[1] vocat hos homines, quia sunt Boreales:
  "North" Boreas, "man" homo Danica lingua sapit.[2]

W.Gemet., 218 B.

Exprimit hinc nomen Northmannia clara triumphis,
  Nominis antiqui tempnit habere notam:
Neustria[3] fertur et hæc nova Danis quod sit ad Austrum;
  Hos fudit Boreas, Austria terra tenet.

Description of Rollo's domains.

Urbes Francigenum ter binas detinet armis
  Danus, et in clara Cæsaris urbe sedet.
Omitto narrare situm' telluris amœnæ,[4]
  Ne nimius videar, dum satis ipse notus.[5]
Villas et burgos sileo gazis opulentos,
  Nec castella noto mœnibus alta suis:
Nobilibus parco silvis lustrisque ferarum.
  Insignes fluvii tractibus arva rigant,
Inque locis variis cognoscis surgere vites,
  Fructiferis lignis undique terra micat.
Nec maris aut terræ fluviorum commeaturas
  Dinumero, quibus hæc commoda multa trahit.
Tellus digna suis legionibus, inclyta bellis,
  Gazis, cive, situ, nobilitate, duce.

Five years after his baptism he dies, leaving his dominions to his son William.

Jam ducis exemplo legiones dantur in undis:
  Hinc Northmannigenum crescit ad alta vigor.

W.Gemet., 233.

Willelmo nato dux successore relicto,
  Lustrum post lavacrum vixit et astra petit.[6]

---

[1] *unde dicitur Normannus*, M.

[2] A mere versification of the words of the chronicler, "*Northmanni autem dicuntur quia lingua eorum Boreas* North *vocatur, homo vero* Man." W. of Jumièges, 218 B.

[3] *Quare dicitur Neustria*, M.

[4] *Nota pro situatione terræ Normanniæ*, M.

[5] Thus in MS.

[6] *Scilicet anno* ix^{c}xvii., M. The chroniclers say five years after his abdication.

Cap. XXII.

De urbibus quas Rollo vel Hastingus vastaverunt.

Cities destroyed by either Hastings or Rollo:

Urbes quas Rollo succendit depopulando, *fo. 123 b.*
Vel prior Hastingus, commemorare libet.
Non simul has omnes pessumdedit ille vel iste,
Rollo sed has, alias perculit ille ferus.
Iste tamen quasdam vastavit quas prius ille,
Argenti nimii copia causa fuit.
Ecclesias taceo claras, castella subacta,
Urbes commemoro, nomina sola quidem.

Nantes, Rheims, Beauvais, Orleans, Chartres, Tours, Paris, Bayeux, Evreux, Rouen, Angers, Poictiers, Noyon, Clermont, Saintonge, Limoges, Angoulême, Bourges, and Perigueux.

Nannetum, Remis, Belvacus, et Aurelianis,
Carnotum, Turonis, Parisiusque simul.
Partibus in nostris[1] Bajocas, Ebroïcasque,
Hinc Rodomus, quam dux fortis uterque capit.[2]
Andegavis sociata manet. Pictavis et ipsa,
Sic Noviomum fert prœlia, tela, rogum.
Nobilis Arvernus Vulcano traditur ipsi,
Sanctonum simili cum feritate perit.
Lemovicas florens horum vastatur ab armis,
Engolisma ferox cedit, et ense caret.
Hinc Aquitanorum caput Avaricum superatur,
Cæsaris hic virtus obstupefacta fuit.
Inde Petragoricum succensum depopulantur.

Hastings and Biorn Ironsides besieged Luna.

Tunc petitur Lunis, urbs populosa nimis.
Hanc Hastingus et ipse Bierus Ferrea-costa,[3]
Lobroci soboles, obsidione premunt.
Dictus sic, matris quod talibus illitus herbis
Extitit, ut ferrum respuat ipsa caro.

---

[1] *Nota "nostris,"* M.

[2] *Tam Hastingus quam Rollo,* M.

[3] Dudo and W. of Jumièges only name Hastings as present at the siege. This chapter embodies the list of cities destroyed by Hastings which the latter chronicler gives.

Cap. XXIII.

De civitate Lunis,[1] *quam Hastingus Romam esse putans obsedit, se mortuum esse simulans intravit, delevit. Hinc Franciam rediens comes Carnotensis factus sit : Bier dominus ejus in Angliam profectus est cum exercitu,*[2] *ibique in pace post multa prælia vitam finivit, sua omnia sociis relinquens.*

W.Gemet., 220, 221.

Cingitur interea Lunis,[3] quæ Roma putatur,
Hostilibus signis clausa perire timet.
Est tamen interius præsul cum consule, quorum
Is dat consilium, protegit ille suos.
Captu difficilis, timet ingenio superari,
Nam dolus et virtus hostibus arma duo.
Hastingus simulat se mortis solvere jura,
Decubat hic lecto, præsul ad ista venit.
Prædicat huic normam fidei, tingitque lavacro :
Ha dolus ! ecce lupum pellis ovina tegit.
Cinthia dum Phœbum sequitur mundoque coruscat,
Pervigil ars vivit, nec dolus ipse silet.
Horridus Hastingus lorica fulgidus astat,
Substinet et galeam sic ocreasque gerit.
Sistitur in feretro,[4] gladio lateri sociato,
Armantur socii, vestibus arma tegunt.
Exoritur clamor legionum, littora deflent,
Urbs fremit, audito consulis esse necem.
Præsulis officio corpus defertur in urbem,
Circumstant cunei, consul et urbis adest.
Confluit hinc populus, legionum Danica virtus,
Hinc et inde simul planctus in alta sonat.

The siege of Luna in Tuscany by Hastings, who believes that he is assailing Rome.

Hastings feigns illness and seeks baptism.

Pretending to be dead, he is carried into the city on a bier.

---

[1] *In Tuscia*, interlined by the annotator.

[2] *cum* is in different ink ; *venit* is inserted after *exercitu*, but cancelled.

[3] This account is possibly taken direct from Dudo (pp. 64, 65).

[4] *feretrum*, MS.

Hi dominum deflent, illi pietate moventur, *fo.* 124.
Paulo post pietas luctibus horror erit.
Fertur in ecclesiam vivum funus galeatum,
Exequias præsul jam periturus init.

He leaps forth during the service in the church and kills the bishop.

Exilit e feretro Danus præfulgidus armis,
Continuoque caput præsulis ense secat.
Urbis ibi consul simili [1] feritate necatur,
Vestibus abjectis Danica tela micant.
Clari sternuntur proceres, cleroque perempto,
Divus et ipse locus fit theatrale forum.
Vertitur in populum strages, discurrit in urbem
Hostis, et ingressus mœnia cæde furit.

Luna is sacked.

Hinc pretii vestes, fulvum congestat et album,
Urbis delicias quærit, anhelat, habet.
Occupat, obtruncat, conscindit,[2] diripit, ardet,
Arces, indigenas, mœnia,[3] cuncta, domos.

Disappointment of the Northmen on discovering their mistake.

Comperit ut Danus Romanis arcibus istas
Non peperisse neces, æstuat atque gemit.
Nam dominam mundi se subdere semper amabat,
Quod Catilina ferox, Hannibal ipse nequit.
Congerit urbis opes, subductis navibus, alto
Mœnia respectat, fumat ubique rogus.
Tale Jugurta ferus [4] voluisset cernere regnum,
Cum redit, et Romæ mœnia retro videt.

Returning to France, Hastings becomes Count of Chartres.

Audit Romuleam Danus fore longius urbem,
Arces in medio classica bella vetant.
Hinc redit. Hastingo vastanti Gallica regna
Carnotum tribuit rex procerumque chorus.

Biorn Ironsides goes to England.

Lobroci natus socia cum classe Bierus W. Gemet., 221. A.
Anglica regna petit, prœlia clara gerit.[5]
Pluribus exactis annis, hic morte sopitur,
Et claris sociis munera multa sinit.

---

[1] The previous editions read *pili*. The MS. clearly reads *sili*.

[2] *cunscendit*, MS.

[3] The pairing of the words (*occupat arces*, &c.) requires a comma here.

[4] Thus in MS.

[5] Not according to W. Gemet.

Cap. XXIV.

De bello inter Robertum principem Francorum, qui diadema ceperat, et Karolum regem apud Suessionem, in quo idem Robertus occiditur, et [quod] etiam idem rex rediens, apud Peronam[1] castrum a Herberto comite, cujus sororem[2] prædictus Robertus habebat in uxorem,[3] captus in carcere obierit; Ludovicus filius ejus ad Anglos fugerit; Rodulphus filius comitis Burgundiæ rex factus annis decem vixerit; postea Ludovicus, ab Anglis rediens, regnum paternum acceperit.*

[*fo.* 108 *b.*]*

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. R. (Pertz, ix. 402).

Robert duke of France seizes the crown (A.D. 922).

Interea Karolo Francorum bella parantur,
Dux Robertus in his efferus arma tenet.
Nam diadema capit, tumidus vi fidit et armis,
Ungitur in regem, subdita cuncta tremunt.
Exoritur bellum, nam clara Suessio vidit
Regem jure novum tunc subiisse necem.

He falls in battle at Soissons. The treachery of Herbert of Vermandois.

Cum redit hinc Karolus, Vermendensis sibi consul
Obviat Herbertus, nec videt ille dolum.
Parronam[4] castrum consul monet esse propinquum:
Rex divertit, et is carcere claudit eum.
Nam soror hujus erat quam rex Robertus habebat:
Ut dolor altus adest vindicat ille virum.[5]
Rex captus-moritur. Post Ludovicus ad Anglos
Confugit, hic Karoli filius unus erat.

Rodolph of Burgundy is crowned but dies (A.D. 936).

Filius inde ducis, quem dat Burgundia, regnum
Radulphus retinet, plebs proceresque favent.
Lustris hic binis sceptrum gerit ac tribus annis;[6]
Ingreditur demum flebile mortis iter.

fo. 124 *b.*

Accession of Louis d'Outremer.

Filius en Karoli tunc Ludovicus ab Anglis
Advenit, et patrium jam diadema capit.

---

[1] Altered by a second hand.

[2] *Filiam* was first written.

[3] *in uxorem*, interlined by the annotator.

[4] Thus in MS. and the "*Abbrev.*" A change of hand occurs here.

[5] *virum*, MS. clearly. Herbert avenged his sister's husband.

[6] *Sc.* xiij. *annis*, M. This chapter is a mere versification of the *Abbrev. Gest. F. R.*, Pertz, ix. 402, *ll.* 30–50.

Cap. XXV.

Quod Willelmus dux Normanniæ, Rollonis filius, proditione Arnulphi comitis Flandriæ, Francis faventibus, peremptus sit, Ricardo filio[1] sibi succedente. Post[2] Ludovicus rex cum exercitu in Normanniam venit, occurritque Bernardus Danus cum Normannis apud Bajocas. Pueri Ricardi magister, Danus quidam, comitem Moritolii Herbertum,[3] cujus occasione dux Willelmus occisus fuerat, lancea percussit, occidit. Inde bello exorto, rex Ludovicus captus a Danis Rothomagum ducitur, in carcere ponitur; filio deinde obside dato cum duobus episcopis, rex liberatur. Filius ejus in carcere moritur, episcopi liberantur, rex eodem anno defungitur, sicque ducis Willelmi interitus vindicatur. Huic bello rex Daciæ, qui paulo ante in Normanniam venerat in auxilium Normannorum, cum suis quos adduxerat, interfuit.

Guillaume Longue-Epée is treacherously killed.

Consulis Arnulphi Flandrensis vis sibi subdit W. Gemet., 237, D.
 Jura Moritolii,[4] condolet ipse comes;
Quod Northmannigenum captum virtute vel armis
 Redditur Herberto,[5] cujus et ante fuit.
Arnulfus retinens clausum sub corde venenum,
 Tempus et optatum tendit habere locum.
Hinc ducis alloquium Willelmi temptat inire,
 Mandat, conveniunt, dirimit unda duos.

---

[1] Originally *filiam*.
[2] *post* in MS.
[3] Re-written *Monsterolii Heluinum*.
[4] *Monterolii*, M.
[5] *Herluino*, is substituted. Here and above the annotator corrects the mistake of the text. Montreuil was taken by Arnulph, but restored to *Herluin* by the aid of a Norman army. The account is substantially that given by Dudo (105 B.) and his abbreviator, Will. Gemet.

W.Gemet., 238.

Stant hinc inde duces, procerum stat cœtus utrimque,
Quærit amicitiam subdolus ille ducis.
Annuit iste pius, petitur quo transeat undam,
Flumine transmisso cæditur,[1] isque ruit.
Hostes diffugiunt, Normannicus ingemit horror,
Nam transire vetat fluminis unda latens.
Vexit cymba ducem, nam navis deerat omnis,
Hæc revehit funus, funeris instat onus.
Devehitur Rodomum, propria sepelitur in urbe,
Rollonis patrium confovet ipse latus.
Iram Normanni retinent sub pectore diram,
Ricardum puerum substituuntque patri.

He is succeeded by his son Richard.

Robore cum multo, ceu mortis consulis ultor,
Ludovicus adest, Đanica turma furit.
Consule sic dempto, Normannos pellere quærit,
Ira sed instigat quos dolor urit, habet.
Hinc Normannigenum virtus occurrit, et ense
Cincta ducis proprii condolet ipsa neci.
Rex petit alloquium placidus Normannigenarum,
Sed dolus anterior callida corda facit.

W.Gemet., 242, C.

Herluin slain (A.D. 945).

Stare Moritolii comitem Normannicus ardor
Perspicit, initium mortis at iste ducis.
Danus in hunc audax oculum deflectit, et hasta
Transforat, in puncto spiritus hujus abit.
Nascitur hinc bellum, ducis ultor Danus in armis
Sævit, et in Francos prœlia dira gerit.
Francigenum proceres funduntur, et undique sanguis
Profluit, et campos corpora pulchra tegunt.
Virtus Francigenum regem dum protegit, hostem
Propellit gladiis, is tamen ense furit.
Sternuntur cunei, Francorum bellicus horror,
Arva replet strages undique multa nimis.

---

[1] *id est, occiditur Anno Domini* ix^{c}xliii., M.

Vertitur in proceres et regem Danica virtus,
Hos obtruncat, et hunc cum feritate petit.
Horrida vis belli! furit is pro rege, sed ille
Vel victum capiet, vel nece sternet eum.
Cæsis jam cuneis, quæ regis corpus obumbrant,
Capture of Louis d'Outremer.
Rex capitur. Danis splendidus iste dies.
Diffugiunt Franci, mæror urget, nec locus armis,
Nam Normannigenum vis violenta viget.
Sic dux Willelmus, Rollonis splendida proles,
Cæsus Francigenis fit dolor atque lues.
Ducitur a Danis rex Ludovicus in urbem
Cæsaris, et clausus carcere fata gemit. *fo.* 125.
Regis Francigenum Karoli fuit unica proles, W.Gemet.,
Deflet et hic patrium cum pietate thronum, 242, D.
Qui Normannigenum cuneos dum sternere temptat,
Regni pro solio carceris ima fovet.
Bajocasinæ locus hic stat proximus urbi,
Quo Normannigenum perpetuatur honos.
Belliger hæc Danus Bernardus bella peregit,
Ricardique ducis fidus alumnus erat.
Dacia tunc proprium transmiserat inclyta regem.
Qui Normannigenis præstitit ense manum.
Rex Ludovicus, Normannis pacificatis,[1] W.Gemet.,
Carcere dimissus jura paterna petit; 243, B.
Qui, bellis pressus variis, hoc deficit anno:
Carceris urgebat forsitan ille dolor.[2, 3]

[1] *pacificatus*, MS.

[2] The heading of the chapter gives a better, but still incorrect account. Two bishops and the child Carloman were given as hostages for Louis. The little prince died in prison in 945, his father in 954.

[3] There is a change of hand near this point.

CAP. XXVI.

Quod Ludovico defuncto Lotharius ejus[1] filius successit, qui moriens duos filios suos Ludovicum et Karolum [reliquit], quorum Ludovicus rex effectus paulo post obiit: cui Karolus, frater ejus, in regnum successit, qui ultimus ex Karoli Magni progenie regnum obtinuit. Contra quem Hugo Capet, Hugonis Magni Francorum principis filius, rebellavit, cumque prælio commisso intra Laudunum cepit et Aurelianis in carcere, ubi et defunctus est, misit; sicque usque in diem hanc a filiis Karoli Magni ad filios Hugonis Capet regnum Franciæ translatum est.

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg. (Pertz, ix. 402, 403).

Death of Lothaire (A.D.986).

Hinc patris imperium Lotharius inclytus armis
Obtinet, et Danis terra subacta silet.
Cedit et is fato, natis diadema relinquens,
Unus post alium sceptra paterna regit.

Accession of Louis V.

Nam Ludovicus regni diademate sumpto,
Hoc Karolo fratri,[2] morte favente, sinit.
Dux hinc Francigenum, qui Magnus dicitur Hugo,
Fata subit, natis dans sua jura tribus.

Death of Hugh the Great (A.D.956).

Primus in his Hugo, Capitis cognomen adeptus,
Dux fit, et in regnum jura secunda tenet.

Hugh Capet opposes Charles of Lorraine.

Suscipit Othonem fratrem Burgundia. Parvo
Tempore dux factus, morte sopitus obit.
Occupat Henricus fraterni jura ducatus,
Nam fratri soboles nulla futura fuit.
Post contra Karolum dux nobilis Hugo rebellat,
Contrahit armatam cum feritate manum.

Siege of Laon.

Intra Laudunum regem concludit et arcet,
Is tamen egrediens hunc probitate fugat.

---

[1] *ei*, MS.

[2] His *uncle* Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, who claimed but never obtained the throne. He is, however, treated as king in the *Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg.*

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg., 403, ll. 35–40.

Laudunum remeat, jam castris hostis adustis,
Hugo sed rediens irruit, huncque capit.[1]

Charles is imprisoned at Orleans.

Rex Karolus captus concluditur Aurelianis,
Carceris ima tenens, tristia fata subit.
Præcelsi Karoli soboles decurrit in istum,
Tam clari generis finis et iste fuit.

Cap. XXVII.

Quod anno ab incarnatione DCCCCLXXXVII. *Hugo Capet cum filio suo Roberto in reges Francorum Remis sacrati sunt. Et de Gerberto, ejusdem Roberti regis magistro. Et de morte primi Ricardi Normanniæ ducis, et Ricardi secundi, et Ricardi tertii, cui frater ejus Robertus in ducatum successit; sed is Ierosolimam perrexit, rediens apud Nicæam obiit, Willelmo filio relicto, qui postea rex Angliæ extitit. Et de morte Hugonis Capet, Francorum regis, cui Robertus filius ejus successit, quo defuncto*[2] [*filius*] *ejus* [*Henricus, et post eum*] *Philippus regnum obtinuit.*

Insigni primo Ricardo fata tenente,[3]
Nomen, jus patrium filius[4] hujus habet.
Tertius[5] inde subit, par nomine, viribus, ense,
Sed vitæ spatio, non probitate minor.
Jus tenet hinc fratris Robertus,[6] nam sine nato *fo.* 125 *b.*
Fatis cedit, et is sanguine primus adest.
Ad carnis tumulum Verbi mens hujus anhelat,
Nicæam rediens hanc tumulatus habet.[7]
Unicus hinc natus Willelmus rexque futurus,
Dux Normannigenum parvulus extat adhuc.

---

[1] At Rheims in 991, by treachery.

[2] *quo defuncto, ejus unicus filius Philippus regnum obtinuit*, MS.

[3] *Sc. anno* 996, M.

[4] *Sc. Richardus* ij., *qui obiit* 1026, M.

[5] *Sc. Richardus* iij[us]., *qui obiit anno* 1028, M.

[6] *Frater Ricardi* iij., M.

[7] *Anno* MXXXV., M.

Death of Charles of Lorraine (A.D. 992).

Rex igitur Karolus Francorum, carcere clausus,
Hugonis moritur traditione ducis.
Extitit hic Magni Karoli rex ultima proles,
Hæc mors Francigenis gloria turpis erit.
Ultor nullus erat regalis proditionis,
Hugonis feritas cuncta timere facit.

Hugh Capet crowned at Rheims, A.D. 987.

Christi tunc novies centenus septimus annus[1]
Octogenus erat, cum diadema rapit.
Urbs celebris Remis hunc maxima rite coronat,
Cum ducibus splendor pontificalis adest.

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg., 403, 404.

He is buried at St. Denis.

Undenis annis in sceptri luce peractis,[2]
Transit, et in celsi martyris æde jacet.
Hic insigniri natum diademate fecit,
Anno quo rapuit Francica regna sibi.

Robert his son succeeds to the throne. His tutor was Gerbert, who afterwards became pope Sylvester II.

Nobilis hic Robertus erat, quem philosophiæ,
Gerbertus[3] studiis imbuit atque replet.
Regis doctori Remensis pontificatus,
Inde Ravennatis Romuleusque datur.
Astrologus mirus gradibus dijudicat astra,
Sicque gradus scandit, quos pia tumba gemit.

The three sons of Robert by Constance. He is succeeded by his sons Hugh and Henry. Philip I. succeeds the latter.

Huic regina parit ternos Constantia natos,
Jura paterna tenent cum pater astra subit.
Roberto cedit primo Burgundia tellus,
Hugo sequens patrium protegit ense thronum.
Imperii primo moriens is deficit anno.
Detinet Henricus fratris et ipse locum.
Exuit hic hominem, Philippo sceptra relinquens;
Unicus hic natus par probitate patri.

---

[1] *Anno* IX^{c}IIII^{xx}VII., *Hugo Capucii fit rex Franciæ*, M.

[2] He reigned less than 10 years. The *Abbreviatio* says 11.

[3] See W. of Malmesb., i. 271–284 as to Gerbert.

Cap. XXVIII.

Quod hujusmodi temporibus cometa apparuit. Eodem anno dux Normanniæ Willelmus cum tribus millibus navibus, contra Haraldum regem Anglorum pugnaturus, Angliam intravit.

A comet appears.

Abbrev. Gest. F. R. 404.

Hujus temporibus resplenduit ipsa cometa,
Cujus ab igne novo Neustria clara nitet:
Nam super hanc rutilans crines detorquet in Anglos,
Mirantur populi, Gallia tota stupet.
Nam jubaris tanti nitor ardet quinque[1] diebus;
Ut reor, hic quintus rex radiabat ei.
Navibus instructis exercitus, horridus armis,
Transvolat hoc anno culmina salsa freti.
Dux Normannigenum, Willelmus fortis et audax,
Tantæ classis erat causa comesque simul.
Angligenum regnum proprium fore dicit, et armis *fo.* 126.
Hunc sibi vel natis quærit habere thronum.
Ut Normannigenas Haraldus novit adesse,
Contrahit in cuneos quidquid in arma valet.
Sic cum rege suo furit, æstuat Anglica virtus,
Ac Normannigenis subdere colla vetat.
Testatur superos, Willelmum mittet ad Orcum,
Ut dum regna petit, dividat ense ducem.
Dux igitur socias armare jubet legiones.
Parturiet bellum nunc diadema sibi.
Hinc propriis armis validus vestitur et ipse,
Accidit huic omen, quod videt ipsa phalans
Nam, dum loricam vestit, pervertit in ante
Quod retro fuerat, nescius ille rei.[2]
Jurat splendorem divinum prospera cuncta
Omine jam tali significata sibi:

Duke William invades England.

The omen of the reversed coat of mail.

[1] The "*Abbrev. Gest.*" says *fere diebus quinque, magnum jubar emittens contra occidentem.* The rest of the chapter is from other sources.

[2] W. of Malmesb., ii., 415, mentions this incident, so do Will. Pict., 131, and Wace, 12647.

Perfidus Haraldus, qui regni prima tenebat,
  Posterior fiet subditus ipse neci,
Hinc Normannigenas acies dux ordinat idem,
  Præcipit et proprium quemque tenere locum.
Armatis igitur legionibus, altius astat,
  Splendidus excelsa voce perorat ita.

Cap. XIX.

Oratio Willelmi Normanniæ ducis ante legiones armatas, cum eis Haraldus rex armatus cum exercitu occurrisset.

Duke William's address to his soldiers.

" O Normannigenum virtus, o flos probitatis,
  " Nominis en nostri fama perennis adest.
" Gloria summa dies victoribus iste futurus,
  " Dedecus at victis permanet iste quidem.
" Rollonis patrios juvat hic meminisse triumphos,
  " Cujus laus, probitas, Neustria semper erit.
" Hanc a Francigenis extorsit viribus, armis,
  " Liquit et hanc nobis posteriore loco.
" Qui tanta probitate suis hanc contulit, hujus
  " Tramitis exemplo commovet ire suos.
" Subdidit is ferro patriam: quod vincere possit
  " Heres sic aliam, testis et ipse docet.
" Jusque sacramque fidem violavit perfidus iste
  " Cum diadema meum fecit inesse suum.

Claims the English throne as his right.

" Edwardus moriens mihi rex regni diadema
  " Sivit ut heredi, juribus idque peto.
" Haraldum misit, firmantur fœdera; carnis
  " Ponit onus, sceptrum perfidus iste capit.
" Fratricida sui fœdatus sorde cruoris,
  " Crimine pro gemino vulnera plura dabit.
" Perjurus diadema tenet, fratrisque necator;
  " Perdat, et ense ruat conditione pari.
" Non aliena mihi conor supponere regna
  " Viribus armatis, at mea jura peto.

" Rollonis claros imitari certo labores,
" Certent et socii laudis honore pares.
" Subdidit ille sibi summa feritate feroces.
" Angligenum nobis subdere sceptra libet.
" Perspiciat miles quantæ probitatis in armis
" Sit diadema sibi præripuisse manu.
" Nam ducis est probitas, tum militis inclyta virtus
" Tum feritas animi consiliique vigor.
" Desint ista; quid arma sibi fient nisi pondus?
" Nam timidis ferrum turpe videtur onus.
" Turpius in Danis fateor nil accidit umquam,
" Quam si tot cuneos Anglicus iste premat.
" Alpibus insonuit, Normannos Anglica regna
" Viribus et ferro subdere velle sibi.
" Horrida fama manet seu laudis sive pudoris:
" Vincere, laus; vinci, pessimus horror erit.
" Victi Francigenis erimus derisus et orbi:
" Vincimus? his nostri splendida fama nitet.
" Navibus impelli, vanum; nam cedere campo
" Danus nescit; ibi stare, jacere, suum.
" Millibus Haraldus confidit, nos feritate.
" Prœlia non numero, sed probitate vigent.
" Testis adest Rollo, devictor tot cuneorum;
" Innumeros stravit, nec sibi tanta manus.

Three thousand ships prepared for the invasion.

" Non tamen est nobis legionum copia parva,
" Cum ter mille rates impleat ista phalanx. W.Gemet., 286.
" Tot siquidem jussi fieri, nec defuit ulla:
" Splendidior classis bellica nulla fuit.
" Nam si Cæsaream classem bis Anglia sensit,
" Hujus maxima pars est tumulata freto.
" Sic et Alexandri Magni dum comprimit urbem,
" Navibus instructis bellica turba fremit.
" Hinc ex urbe rates proprio cum rege feruntur;
" Classi classis adest, is ferit, isque ruit.
" Rostris præcisis, cuneos dum suscipit unda,
" Multis cum sociis Cæsar et ipse natat.

" Hujus dextra librum tenet, æquoris unda sinistram,
" Ripas Cæsar habet, Romuleique duces.
" Illius hic urbis rex mersus deficit undis;
" Aurea quem thorax pandit, arena tenet.
fo. 127. " Cæsaris hac oculis delata fertur in urbem,
" Inspicit hanc civis, mœnia clausa patent.
" Jam bello superatus erat Pompeius, et hujus
" Flet caput abscissum Julius ipse videns.
" Sic fortuna rates dejecit principis orbis;
" Nostras unda tumens cum pietate tulit.
" Pompeii similes pœnas dabit iste rebellis;
" Perdit jure caput qui diadema rapit.
" Hannibal, in luna cuneos disponere suetus,
" Stravit Romulidas, sole micante sibi.
" Ex horum digitis gemmas detraxit et aurum,
" Carthago modios tres tenet inde sibi.
" Nocte sub hac acies simili probitate parentur,
" Solis ab exortu Danica sistra canant.
" Multis cum cuneis jam traditor ille propinquat,
" Æstimat incautos tradere posse neci.
" Impetus hostilis magnus, reor, iste futurus:
" Sed virtus tumidos calliditate premat.
" Ictus sustineat clypeus lassosque repellat,
" Congeminet fessis vulnera dextra recens.
" Caute pugnando mortis discrimina vitet,
" Qui vitare cupit turpia damna fugæ.
" Belliger iste locus victores sive necatos
" Nos tenet, at retro pellere nemo valet.
" Utile quidquid erat, reor, hic jam concionatus,
" Colligo cuncta tribus quæ retinere libet.
" Vis Normannigenum, spes regni, splendida fama,
" Armis nos moveat, provocet, atque tegat."[1]

[1] Some of the same topics of course appear in William's speech as given by Hen. of Hunt. (pp. 200–2), but the orations are essentially different.

Cap. XXX.

* *De bello inter Willelmum ducem Normanniæ et Haraldum Anglorum regem, in quo idem rex peremptus est.* [fo. 109.]*

The battle of Hastings.

His dux finitis, Normannicus insonat ardor,
  Quisque sibi firmat vincere sive mori.
Umbra sub terræ cuneos Haraldus anhelans
  Ducit, ut incautum dissecet ense ducem.
Cernitur a Danis armorum splendor, et ipsis
  Auroræ radiis jam dolus ipse patet.[1]
Nec fuerat minor his astutia, Danus in armis
  Degit sub tenebris, excubiasque fovet.
Luxerat Arcturus[2] obliquis splendidus astris,
  Cum pullis Pliades imbribus arva rigant.

St. Calixtus' day.

Nascitur inde dies Calixti morte notatus:
  Danorum calices Anglia sæva bibet.
Trinis ordinibus dux ordinat hinc legiones,
  Instruit Haraldus cum feritate suos.
Hunc summus planeta diem genitorque deorum
  Vidit; in hoc Danus prœlia summa gerit.
Perdidit ille thronum, novus[3] hunc sibi vindicat armis;
  Quem tenet Haraldus, fit thronus ecce ducis.
Omnibus instructis legionibus, hora diei
  Tertia fit, resonat clangor ubique tubæ.
Armorum studiis princeps insignis uterque, fo. 127 b.
  Strenuus in bellis Danus et Anglus erat.
Confligunt acies, armorum perstrepit horror.
  Undique concertat vis violenta virum.

Harold's men were weary through their recent fight with the Norwegians.

Straverat Haraldus Norwingos nuper, et armis
  Fessus cum sociis est probitate minor.
Stat feritas animi legionibus inviolata,
  Principe cum proprio vincere quisque cupit.
Cessat telorum jactus, pharetris vacuatis,
  Hastas fert clypeus, cassis ab ense sonat.

---

[1] An interpretation of the closing words of cap. xxxv. in W. Gemet.?

[2] *Arturus*, MS.

[3] *novis* in MS.

Cernitur horribilis tantarum vis acierum,
Incitat has feritas ingenitusque vigor.
His[1] furor augetur spe regni, divite censu:
Hæc Anglus metuens sævit in arma ferus.
Certent pro patria, propellant cædibus hostes
Rex monet, et Danos viribus ipse petit.
Anglorum legio regem circumstat, et armis
Horrida bellorum fulmine clara micat.
Hinc fessas acies dux, belli lege peritus,
Retro stare jubet, suggerit inde novas.
Hic Normannigenum virtus, furor ardet, in Anglos
Sævit, et in regem jam furibunda ruit.
Angligenum gladiis pelluntur, et ense resistunt,
Cum strepitu strages arva cruenta tenet.
Quis furor hic fuerit, quis, quæso, dicere possit?
Quæ vis, quæ rabies, impetus, horror erat?
Regis pro vita, pro regno dissidet Anglus;
Hanc petit, hoc quærit Danus in arma furens.
Regales acies, Anglis cæsis, penetrantur,
Is petitur solus qui diadema tulit.
Nam belli fieret finis jam rege perempto,
Militis at virtus ferrea claudit eum.
Non nisi per gladios capiatur sive necetur
Ullum restat iter, prœlia dira vetant.
Labitur a centro Phœbus, Neptunia regna
Dum petit, armatis jam sua terga dabat.
Hinc ducis et regis gladiis acies sociantur,
Quæ fuit hic probitas exitus ipse docet.
Audax regalem dux perforat ipse phalangem:
Angligenum virtus, gloria tota furit.
Sed Normannorum vis, quæ Francos superavit,
Anglos nunc superat, deprimit, ense secat, Death of Harold.
Nam ducis in vultu proprii regisque futuri
Regem cum sociis confodit atque necat.[2]

[1] *Iis*, MS.

[2] These two lines, *Nam ducis . . necat*, are omitted by both Cardinal Mai and M. Omont.

Principibus cæsis regis lateri sociatis,
  Angli diffugiunt quo via quæque patet.
Sic catuli fugitant, cæso rugiente leone,
  Linquitur a natis ursa subacta neci.
Dum regem proceres[1] . . . . .

Cap. XXXI.

De consecratione regis Willelmi. De abbate Cadomensi Lanfranco facto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. De duabus abbatiis, quas idem rex apud Cadomum fecerat. Et de morte Philippi Francorum regis, cui successit Ludovicus filius ejus.

. . . .

Cap. XXXII.

De morte Willelmi regis Anglorum, et de tribus filiis ejus; Willelmo, qui ei in regnum successit; Roberto, qui ducatum Normanniæ tenuit; Henrico, qui postea rex Angliæ extitit. De morte ejusdem Willelmi regis, et etiam [quod] Henricus frater ejus imperium suscepit. Et de bello inter eumdem Henricum et Robertum ducem Normanniæ, fratrem suum, in quo idem Robertus captus est, Henrico postea Normanniam obtinente.

. . . .

Dux redit, hostiles acies rex promovet, armis *fo.* 129.
  Insequitur fratrem, transvolat inde fretum.
Siege and capture of Bayeux.
Subnixus cuneis, Bajocas obsidet urbem, W. Gemet., (R. de Monte) 298.
  Irruit hostili more, subacta rapit.
Siege of Tinchebrai.
Hinc, Cadomo capto,[2] castellum prætitulatum[3]
  Cingit et oppugnat, nec tamen ipse capit.

[1] These are the catch-words at the bottom of *fo.* 127 *b.* *Fo.* 128 of the MS. is missing, and about 100 verses are thus lost.

[2] By bribery, Hen. Hunt. p. 235.

[3] *Sc. Tenechebray*, M.

Namque Moritolii cum consule,[1] cujus et illud
Tunc erat, adveniens dux ferus arva tenet.
Cum sibi multa manus, rege is[2] violentior extat,
Ac numero superat, spes ubi summa sibi.
Instructas acies frater disponit uterque;
Qui diadema tulit fortior esse cupit.
Nam contra dominum fratrem si prævalet ense, Battle of Tinchebrai.
Vis ibi non juris sed probitatis adest.
Jus petit ut natu major sceptrum moderetur,
At ferri probitas vertere jura potest.
Rex igitur proceresque sui, structis aciebus,
Concertant numero, vi, feritate, manu.
Consertoque gravi bello paucisque peremptis,
Dux fortis capitur, consul[3] et ipse simul.
Quo primum steterant, fissis cuneis, capiuntur,
Dedignatur enim quis resilire retro.
Eventus belli varios, discrimina pugnæ,
Perspicit ut captos, rex memorando redit.
Subditur interea regi Normannia tota,
Hosque sibi socians Anglica regna petit.
Custodire jubet tantos, sed libera vincla[4] Duke Robert is kept in honourable captivity.
Talibus indulget, deliciisque fovet.
Jam comites, jam pontifices, clerus, populusque
Regis necne ducis jura verenda tremunt.
Milleni seni centeni terminus anni[5] This war happened in the year 1106.
Fluxerat, et fratrum Neustria bella videt.
Hoc anno radians jam luxerat ipsa cometes,
Fratrum bella canit, tristia fata ducis.

---

[1] *Sc. Roberto. Hic Robertus fuit frater uterinus Gullelmi regis et ducis, qui Angliam conquisivit,* interlined by the annotator.

[2] *regis*, MS.

[3] *Normanniæ sc. Robertus Moritonii*, interlined by the annotator.

[4] Malmesbury (Gest. Reg. 611) says, "*in libera tentus est custodia.*" R. de Monte in his continuation of W. of Jumièges (298 D.) also says "*libera custodia,*" but in his chronicle, "carceralibus ingessit tenebris" (Pertz, vi. 482).

[5] *Sc. anno* MCVI., *fuit bellum prædictum apud Tinchebray*, M.

Cap. XXXIII.

De morte Philippi, filii Ludovici regis Francorum, et de concilio quod tenuit Innocentius papa apud Parisius, ubi postea Ludovicum filium Ludovici sacravit in regem Francorum.

Death of Louis le Gros. He had caused his son Philip to be crowned (A.D. 1129), but the young king died through an accident. Innocent II. holds a council at Paris [Rheims].

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg., 406.

Rex Ludovicus fatorum vincere fila
  Dum nequit, occumbit, martyris æde jacet.
Hic natum regem Philippum fecerat ante,
  Quatuor ex natis hic sibi primus erat.
Hic juvenis dum pellit equum, ruit. ultima solvit:
  Parisius plangit, quam videt ipsa necem.
Hac tunc consilium tenet Innocentius urbe,[1]
  Præsul et is summus urbis et orbis erat.
Rhetoricus splendor causarum jura retractat,
  Matris lingua sonat Romuleæque tubæ.
Ex Institutis,[2] quo legum summa tenetur,
  Legister replicat quæ sibi digna videt.
In Digestorum totum se mergit abyssum,
  Digerit et pandit utile quidquid inest.
Profert in medium tunc imperatoria jura; *fo.* 129 *b.*
  Codex ipsa ligat; quod placet iste legit.
Explicat Edictis, et solvit multa Novellis:
  Catholicæ legis rex nova jura dedit.
Hinc fluvius, torrens, Gratianus ad alta redundat,
  Quo sine nil leges, nil ibi jura valent.
Fons decretorum, totius juris abyssus,
  Luminis ecclesiæ splendida stella micat.
Affluit, exornat, distinguit, terminat, arcet,
  Verbis, flore, locis, sensibus, epilogis.

---

[1] Philip was killed in 1131, and the council of *Rheims* was held in October in the same year. The error comes from the words "*urbe* "Parisius" followed by, "in *urbe* "supradicta" in the *Abbreviatio*, p. 406.

[2] A flaw in the metre.

Ut jus jure docet, pro causa quisque laborat,
Partem nempe suam firmat, adauget, init.
Hæc pater Innocuus componit, judicat, urget,
Lites, facta, modum, fœdere, jure, fide.
Hujus Apostolici manibus rex inde sacratur
Ludovicus, honor maximus iste throni.

Louis le Jeune crowned by pope Innocent.

Cap. XXXIV.

De morte Roberti ducis Normanniæ, et de filio ejus Willelmo, cui Ludovicus senior comitatum Flandriæ cum sorore uxoris suæ dederat, mortuo comite Flandriæ sine herede.

William Clito, son of Robert duke of Normandy.

Dux[1] Normannorum moritur[2] sub carcere fratris:
Natu major erat nec feritate minor.
Nobilis hinc natus, miles præfulgidus armis,
Fata patris metuit, Francigenasque petit.
Hunc Ludovicus clarus pietate retentat,
Condolet is juvenis casibus atque patris.
O natura ferox! Hic fratrem comprimit armis,
Sicque nepos, patrui dum timet arma, fugit.
Pellitur a patruo, sed suscipit hunc alienus:
O pietas! patruus hic erit atque pater.
Consul Flandrensis Karolus, dum perstat in æde
Sacra, confoditur, sicque peremptus obit.
Parcere dum propriis dominis sic Flandria novit,
Cernitur innatæ fraudis habere dolum.
Jus sicut proprium, dum nullus consulis heres,
Ludovicus habet quicquid et ipse comes.
Francigenum proceres, Flandrensis et ordinis alta
Nobilitas assunt, natus et ipse ducis.
Curia sollemni Francorum culmine splendet,
Willelmo juveni Flandria tota datur.

R. de Monte, vi. 488.

Charles count of Flanders, having left no heirs, Louis VI. gives his domains to William Clito.

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[1] *Sc. Robertus*, interlined by the annotator.

[2] *Sc. anno* MCXXXIIII., M.

Filius iste ducis Roberti, Danica proles,
Militiæ fulgor, Martis alumnus erat.
Insignis probitas Francos illexit amore,
Aptius hac nihil est jungere corda sibi.
Armorum feritas, virtutis gloria quanta
Hujus erat, testis permanet altus honor
Louis' queen gives William her sister in marriage.
Hoc insigne tulit quod vix sibi quilibet armis
Jungitur, horrorem dum timet ille viri;
Thoraces clipeos vibrans dum perforat hasta
Vel ruit ille vel hæc sanguine tacta madet
Armis indutus radiat murus galeatus, fo 130
Hunc, dum scandit equum, pellere nemo potest.
Laus fuit ista sibi quod dum ruit, ille vel ille
Consulis arma fugit, dum timet ense necem.
Quo fit ut ignotis ludens spatietur in armis:
Nota viri tanti quilibet arma fugit.
Largitur comiti propriam regina sororem. W Gemet., (R. de Monte), 299, B.
Fœdere legali consociatur ei.
Hinc rex, hinc proceres, hinc gaudet Flandria tota,
Virtus sic aliis sic sibi clara nitet.
Invisus propriis, fit carus sic alienis:
Quos pellunt alii, Francia ditat, habet.
Pervenit ad patruum tam splendida fama nepotis.
Æstuat ac metuit perdere jura ducis.
Quis tumor est animi, rerum quæ cæca cupido!
Cuncta tenere sibi, perdere, sicque mori!

Cap. XXXV

De bello inter Ludovicum seniorem, juncto sibi Willelmo comite Flandrensi, et Henricum regem Anglorum.

Cum Ludovico consul parat arma, cohortes:
Hos ambos metuens Neustria tota furit.
Cum natis Henricus adest, legit undique vires,
Assunt et Britones regis ad arma sui.

Hos cum Normannis possedit Rollo subactos.
Quos sibi perpetuo Francia larga dedit.
Sed fera gens animo cervicem flectere nescit,
Ni Normannigenum vis violenta premat.
Horrida bellorum virtus utrimque paratur,
Loricæ radiis solis et arva nitent.
R. de Monte (Hen. Hunt.), vi. 486. Armati reges radiant ut fulmina cœli. Battle of Brenville (A.D. 1119).
Vallati cuneis arma tremenda tegunt.
Instructos armis cuneos rex jungit uterque,
Ensibus arma sonant, ferrea turba fremit.
Tres Britonum primas acies Flandrensis abegit,
Ex Normannigenis quarta repente subit.
Willelmus regis soboles, dux agminis hujus,
Ut leo cum sociis sævit et ense furit.
Francigenum virtus, Flandrensis gloria gentis
Exerit hic quicquid viribus ipsa valet.
Impetus horrendus Francorum turbat et arcet
Vim Normannigenum, sed furit illa magis.
Præteritas acies cum Francis Flandria vicit,
Æstimat et Danos subdere posse sibi.
Spes illos reparat, Danus succenditur ira;
Spem fugat ira potens, spes ruit, ira viget
Scinditur hinc acies Flandrensis, Francus in armis
Sanguine jam madidus Danica bella fugit.
Horrisonus fragor arva replet, ceu turbine belli,
Flandria cum Francis tota repente ruat.
Franci Flandrenses ut equos agitare periti,
Pondera sic belli vix pede ferre valent.
Hi, Normannorum bello campoque relicto,
Vitant, dum fugiunt, vulnera sæva necis.
fo. 130 *b.* Rex Normannigenas laudat cum consule claro;
Quod superatur ab his laus sibi summa manet.
Laus est Francigenis a Danis jam superari,
Contigit hoc solito, semper et illud erit.
Nam sibi nulla fuit gens belli pondere nota,
Cujus tot variis sit superata modis

Cap. XXXVI.

Quod post prædictum bellum, ubi rex Francorum cum comite Flandriæ superatus erat, dum rex Anglorum Henricus in Angliam transit, filii ejus Willelmus et Ricardus cum multis naufragio perierunt, Merlino id antea prophetizante. Et de morte comitis Flandriæ.[1]

Cum natis a Marte redit rex belliger audax:
Flandria, Francigenæ jam sua jura petunt.
Neustria Normannis remanet cum laude triumphi,
Claris cum spoliis Danica turba redit.
Sic dum ventus adest, dum silvas concutit altas,
Radix fixa manet, robora turbo quatit,
Gallorum turres rugitum[2] jure leonis
Quod timeant, vates præcinit ille novus.

Drowning of Prince William (A.D. 1120).

At leo cum binis catulis dum tendit ad Anglos,
Piscibus hos[3] linquit, quos vorat unda freti.
Angligeni regni scit cursum diva potestas;
Quanta sit hæc, vates cœlicus ille canit.
Præteritis signis prætendit vera futura,
Et sacri radiis flaminis ista videt.
Regni totius summam describit, et ipsa
Saxonicæ gentis prœlia primo refert.
Præcinit hinc regno quidquid videt esse futurum:
Stringens cuncta brevi, terminat arce poli.
Ni jam prætereat, nescis quid vaticinetur;
Dum transacta vides, credere cuncta licet.
Ignotus David est, ignotus sic Ysaias,
Jam transacta canunt, et tibi tecta patent.
Filius inde ducis Roberti, consulis arcem
Flandria cui tribuit, vivere desit ibi.

---

[1] Here in the MS. occur the words: *explicit capitula libri primi, incipiunt capitula libri secundi.*

[2] A flaw in the metre. See p. 600, note 3, for Merlin's words.

[3] *hoc*, MS.

Death of William Clito in 1128.

Astans cum sociis castello, vulnere parvo
Læditur in dextra, nilque doloris inest.
Hoc minimum negligit, sed parvo jure neglecto
Crescit et inflatur quod putat esse nihil.
Igneus ingreditur[1] in parvo vulnere[2] morbus,
Ut dextram resecet physicus[1] ipse jubet.
Vel totus vivet, vel totus jam morietur,
Nulla cohæret ei pars sine parte sui.
Sic cedit fatis, Hector sic deficit alter,
Non probus, at probitas; non ferus, immo leo.
Terminus hic Verbi centenus bis duodenus
Millenusque simul necne quaternus erat.

R. de Monte, vi. 489.

---

[1] These metrical errors are the last which will be pointed out.

[2] Thus in MS.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

Cap. I.

De adventu Henrici regis ab Anglia; tuncque cometa apparuit, isque paulo post apud Castrum Leonum obiit, corpore ipsius apud Radingensem abbatiam suam delato.

Appearance of a comet.

Henry returns from England.

Dies from the effects of eating lampreys.

fo. 131.

R. de Monte, vi. 491.

Inde cometa micat, rex tunc Henricus ab Anglis
Advolat, ulterius non rediturus adest.
Efferus iste leo Castellum jure Leonum
Advenit, et procerum confluit ampla manus.[1]
Isque cibo sumptas murænas semper amavit,
Ambrosii dictum nesciit iste reor.[2]
Murænam repetens ad ripam sibilat anguis,
Amplexus ineunt, illaque fœta redit;
Sicque venenato proles ex fœdere nata
Pestiferum multis contulit ipsa cibum,
Et licet expressum purgetur ab igne venenum,
Omne venenosum qui timet, ille sapit.
Inscius hanc comedens moritur vel debilitatur,
Dulcia dum sumit cruda venena cibo.
Ultimus ista cibus deflendi jure leonis
Extat, et hic causa dicitur esse necis.
Rex humeris procerum defunctus fertur in urbem[3]
Cæsaris, et planctus horridus arva tenet.

---

[1] Cardinal Mai marks here a lacuna of 100 verses. The ancient paging of the MS., however, shows that there is nothing wanting.

[2] Cardinal Mai's edition has the note, "In Physiologo, qui est liber "spurius."

[3] *Sc. anno* MCXXXV. *obiit Henricus primus*, M.

Rumor ut hoc prodit, prædonum turba resurgit,
  Justitiæ trames, hoc moriente, ruit.
Quantus erat vivens, jus mortis concinit hujus,
  Judice sublato, fraus, dolus ecce viget.

Reading has his body, Des Prés his heart and brain.

Hujus corpus habet, quam condidit, ipsa Radingis,
  Ecclesiam Prati [1] cor cerebrumque fovet.
Horrendus turbo mortem præcesserat hujus:
  Horrida fama volat, turbida cuncta facit. R. de Monte, vi. 491.

He died in 1135.

Millenis annis decies denos sociabis
  Septem lustra simul, cum subit iste polum.[2]
Cum frater capitur, senis regnaverat annis,
  Post totidem lustris se videt essse ducem.
Heres nata [3] sibi pro natis sola relicta,
  Consulis Andegavis nobilis uxor erat.
Parvulus huic natus [4] dux, consul, rexque futurus,
  Temnitur a Stephano,[5] qui diadema capit,

The usurpation of Stephen lasted 19 years.

Quique nepos regis, consul præclarus in armis
  Angligenas subicit, cuncta silere facit.
Ternis hic lustris regnat cum quatuor annis,
  Henricus junior splendet in arce throni.[6]

[1] On an erasure.
[2] MCXXXV., M.
[3] *Id est filia Matildis nomine*, M.
[4] *nomine Henricus*, M.
[5] *Stephanus, qui regnum Angliæ occupaverat, decessit Anno Domini* mcliiij, *et regnum redit ad Henricum filium Matildis*, M.
[6] *comite Boloniæ*, M.

CAP. II.

De morte comitis Pictavensis, et de filia ejus, quam Ludovicus junior in conjugium cum comitatu, patre Ludovico vivente, accepit. Et de ecclesia Pisseii, quam Beccenses monachi ad se pertinere dicunt.[1] *Quodque propter propinquitatem generis Ludovicus junior Francorum rex uxorem suam dimisit, ipsaque postea Henrico duci Normanniæ regique Anglorum nupsit.*

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg. (Pertz, ix. 406).

Death of William X of Aquitaine (in 1137). Eleanor, marries Louis le Jeune (2 Aug. 1137). Death of Louis VI (1 Aug. 1137).

Hujus regis avi mortem mors Pictaviensis
   Consulis insequitur, alter ut annus adest.
Unica[2] sola sibi fuit heres jure ducatus,
   Nam Raymundus abest frater et ipse ducis.
Dum tumulum petit is, fit princeps Antiochensis,
   Ulterius patrium nec videt iste solum.
Hinc Ludovicus neptem sibi copulat hujus,
   Et dux efficitur dum pater ipse viget.
Deserit hoc anno vitam rex Francicus iste,
   Parisius luget, funera martyr habet.

The author records an injustice done by Louis VI. which may be redressed by his son, Louis VII.

Hic breviter refero factum, quod displicet, hujus,
   Tum quia natus adest, tum quia culpa gravis.
Novit et hoc natus, et culpam fama retractat;
   Filius hanc reprimat, culpa repente ruet.

King Philip had given the church of Poissy to the monks of Bec.

Nobilis ecclesiam structuræ nobile castrum
   Passeium[3] servat, clarus et ipse locus.
fo. 131 *b.* Hanc cum præbendis pater hujus contulit olim
   Ecclesiæ Becci; clerus ad ista dolet.

The secular clergy hired advocates to plead their cause before the king.

Artis quicquid habet simul excitat, urget, et urit,
   Officio, lingua, munere cuncta ligat.
Rhetor, causidicus, regis flectuntur ad aures,
   Flexerat hos aurum, flectere corda potens.
Ariete ceu crebro pulsatur rex; tamen hujus
   Mens inflexibilis, inviolata manet.

---

[1] *ad se—dicunt*, interlined by the annotator.

[2] The "*Abbrev. Gest. F. R.*" errs. She had a sister named Petronilla.

[3] Might be read *Pesseium*.

Quid latet in fundo scit, novit ubi dolor angit.
  Dirimit in puncto quod parat arte dolus.
Donum confirmat, causæque ligamina solvit,
  Actor quæ replicat terminat iste brevi.
Clericus ecclesia se perspicit ut spoliatum,
  Regia jura timens, vulnere jure tumet.
Optat et expectat Fatorum fila secari,
  Terminus hic regis si tamen esse queat.
Nec spe frustratur; nam multis deinde diebus
  Exactis moritur; clericus ipse favet.
Hinc causam renovat, queritur se non spoliatum
  Æqua lance, sibi curia testis erit.
Se vi regali pulsum, nec jure coactum,
  Romæ judicium nec licuisse[1] peti.
Testibus id geminis, Albino necne Rufino,
  Comprobat, hi fratres causidicique simul.
Tullius eloquii fons, ipse Salustius acer
  Istis congrediens tunc sine voce foret.
Curia clara nitet quæ nunquam subditur istis:
  Subdita, fit vilis, nam sine jure manet.
Reges, pontifices, proceres, vis comprimit horum,
  Bella, neces, urbes, excitat, auget,[2] habet.
Subdolus Albinus rhetor, linguaque politus
  Centies obtulerat quatuor ipse libras.[3]
Causa ligatur in his, latet hic facundia tota,
  Hic solus superat, prævalet, ore ligat.
Sic regem, proceres, ars hujus cingit et artat,
  Ac in velle suum regia corda trahit.
Hinc Ludovicus monachos expellere jussit;
  Sic patris hic animæ consulit, immo suæ!
Inde per Albinum præbendas clerus adeptas
  Dividit has natis conjugibusque suis.
Hicque preces fletus fundunt pro funere regis,
  Nam monachus pulsus desiit ista quidem.

The king confirmed his gift.

The clergy awaited his death and then renewed their suit.

They used bribery.

Their unlawful arts prevailing, King Louis VI. ordered the monks to be expelled.

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[1] *licius se*, MS.
[2] *augit*, MS.
[3] *libros*, MS.

Regum Francigenum donum primum fuit illud
Ecclesiæ Becci, finis et iste manet.
Ex horum donis id solum Beccus habebat,
Abstulit Albinus quod niger ille tenet.
Ludovicus obit, cujus jam filius, heres
Nominis et regni, jus regit omne patris.
Ungitur hic, annis centum, sex, mille peractis,
Sexies et quinis additus unus erit.
Sic rex Francigenum, sic dux Acquitanicus extat,
Uxor et ipsa simul jam diadema gerit.
Esse sed hanc regis testatur fama propinquam,
Hosque sibi jungi cœlica jura vetant.
Hinc proceres, hinc pontifices, hinc turba susurrat,
Auribus amborum funditur inde sonus.
Connubium tantum solvi concedit uterque:
Amplexus varios quærere quemque licet.
Hinc consanguinitas horum juratur utrimque:
Inde solum patrium libera stella petit.
Comparat hanc avium[1] reginæ providus ille,
Sic aquilam rupti fœderis[2] ore canit.
Hanc sibi reginam prospexerat ille futuram,
Hujus nam geminum fert diadema caput.
Copulat hanc sibi dux, consul simul, ipse ducatum[3]
Occupat; amborum sic triplicatur honos.
Conclusos triplici Gallos tenet iste ducatu,
Elatos Britones associare libet.

R. de Monte, vi. 493.

fo. 132.

Louis VI. died, and his son, who reigns, was anointed in 1137.

Louis VII. was once also Duke of Aquitaine.

His divorce from Eleanor on ground of consanguinity.

The reference to this event in Merlin's prophecy.

Eleanor marries Henry duke of Normandy.

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[1] Altered by erasure.

[2] See note 2, p. 603, for the passage from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[3] *Normanniæ* interlined by the annotator above *dux*; *Andegaviæ* above *consul*; *scilicet Pictaviæ* attached in margin to *ducatum*.

Cap. III.

Quod anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLIV., *Henricus dux Normanniæ in regem Anglorum unctus sit, et de discordia inter ipsum et Ludovicum Francorum regem; ubi ad designandum quod comes Andegavensis* et Pictariensis Francorum regi subjiciantur, de Hilderico rege Francorum, qui ultimus ex prosapia Dagoberti regnavit, et de Pipino Francorum duce pauca narrantur.* [fo. 109 b.]

Henry duke of Normandy becomes king of England in 1154.

Dux binus, consul geminus, rex Anglicus idem,
Solus tanta regit, continet, arcet, habet.
Invida corda movet, quod solus, quod specialis
Terris, divitiis, conjuge, prole, throno.
Annis a Verbo transactis mille quaternis
Quindecies denis, is diadema tulit.[1]

Fourteen years later he repudiates his fealty to Louis.

Bis septem socias,[2] regis cum Francigenarum
Respuit iste thronum, temnit habere jugum.
Quod quid sit paucis referam, prolixa notabo,
Regalemque viam, vera loquendo, sequar.
Inter Francigenum reges fulsit Dagobertus
Nobilitate, throno, viribus, ense, fide.

The Merovingians: Dagobert and his successors, the "Rois-Fainéants."

Hujus progenies multo prolixior ævo
Tempore diverso Gallica sceptra gerit.
Ultimus ex istis Francorum fert diadema
Childericus, at is segnis et hebes erat.
Nomine regali solo contentus[3] ab armis
Abstinet, et metuit prœlia, tela, necem.

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[1] mcliiij., M.

[2] mclxviij., M. See *l.* 424.

[3] The following disconnected passages from Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* (Pertz, ii. 443) may be compared with the several lines of this poem mentioned in connexion with each: — (i.) *regio tantum nomine contentus*, cf. *l.* 139 of the "*Draco*;" (ii.) *crine profuso*, *l.* 157; (iii.) *legatos undecunque venientes audiret, eisque abeuntibus responsa, quæ erat edoctus vel etiam jussus . . redderet*, *ll.* 159–161; (iv.) *quod ei præfectus aulæ . . . exhibebat*, *l.* 161.

Einhard. Vit. Kar. Magn. (Pertz, ii. 443).

Pensa puellis dans, imitatur Sardanapallum,
  In thalamis degit, carceris ima fugit.
Ostro purpureus, gemmis resplendet et auro:
  Thoraces, galeæ, pondera dura sibi.[1]
Sub divo residens, glaciem fremitusque borinos[2]
  Vitat, id armatis gloria sæpe fuit.
Otia dum sequitur satrinam carpit in hortis;
  Sertum de violis colligit atque rosis.
Hostiles nescit cuneos impellere, silvis
  Saltus horret, in his cornua densque vigent.
Nam cervos, capreas, et apros pro dente timendos,
  Dum mortem metuit, non fugat, immo fugit.
Cum colat hic Christum, Bacchus sibi semper amicus,
  Qui Cereris socius corda calore movet.
Indulgens dapibus, dum cor premit ipse Falerno,
  Philosophus summum credit id esse bonum.
Intonsus barba residens, cum crine refuso,
  Hac in parte sui Scoticus esse cupit.
Legatos recipit sic regum;[3] quod sibi jussum
  Edoctumve fuit, talibus ipse refert.
Quod parat atque jubet, tribuit præpositus aulæ,[4]
  Id solum pavidus suscipit, audet, habet.
Dux tunc Francigenum, Pipinus splendidus armis,
  Regni jura fovet, rege favente tamen.
Deliciis variis rex affluit, ille labores
  Et curas patitur, murus et arma suis.

The debaucheries of Childeric III.

fo. 132 *b.*

Pepin carries on all affairs of state.

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[1] The annotator writes: *Nota mores et statum Childerici regis Francorum.*

[2] *borinos*, MS., employing the less usual form of *r* and attaching it to the *o*. The annotator explains by repeating the word above.

[3] This sentence, with the rest of the three lines in which it stands, is obviously taken from the passage from Einhard's *Vita Car. Magni*, quoted in note 3 on p. 664.

[4] *id est major domus*, M.

Cap. IV.

De adventu Stephani papæ in [1]Franciam, et de concilio quod ibi habuit, ubi Hildericum Francorum regem diademate privavit, monachum fecit, et Pipinum et Karolum reges sacravit.

Pope Stephen III. comes to France.

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg. (Pertz, ix. 399).

Interea[1] Stephanus, præsul tunc urbis et orbis,
Alpibus emensis, Francica regna venit.
Eloquio nitidus, præclarus religione,
Filius atque Petri dignus honore, fide
Corripit hunc valitudo gravis metuitque resolvi,

He falls ill at St. Denis.

Pontificis Græci perstat in æde sacra.[2]

St. Denis in a vision tells him that if he will found altars to SS. Peter and Paul he will recover.

Obsecrat hic, jam martyr adest, ejusque magister
Paulus et almifluus tertius ipse Petrus.
Amodo sanus erit, fatur Dionysius ipse,
Sed sociis binis ara sacretur ibi.
Visa refert, altare sacrat, sanusque resurgit,
Sedis Apostolicæ munera digna sinit.[3]
Cum propria palla claves deponit ibidem,
In signum fidei, nominis, atque rei.

Stephen recovers.

Incolumis redit hinc, docet ecclesiastica jura,
Fracta ligat, curat vulnera, sana fovet.
Nobilis, antiqui, famosi, divitis audit
Dedecus imperii Francigenique throni,
Regalis splendor, bellorum gloria, regni

He decides to settle the affairs of France.

Nobilitas, virtus annihilata ruit.
Hinc regni proceres, et pontificalis honoris
Personas sociat, clerus honorus adest.
Gloria Francigenum Pipinus, nobilitatis

The nobles of France, with Pepin

Dux specialis, ibi clarus honore micat.
Ipsa ducis soboles Karolus, lux Francigenarum,
Affuit atque patris assidet ipse latus.

---

[1] *Interra*, MS.

[2] *Sc. Sancti Dionysii*, interlined above *Græci* by the annotator.

[3] *Pallam et claves sedis Apostolicæ dedit Papa Stephanus monasterio Sancti Dyonisii*, M.

Ex horum radiis astrorum curia fulget,
Gloria regalis quisque futurus erat.
Præsul causidicus, dudum Ciceronis alumnus,
Causarum triplicem noverat esse modum.
Nam quis personam demonstrat laude colendam,
Digne pro meritis vituperatve suis.
Quid fieri possit deliberat ille vel ille,
Utile pertemptat, quærit honesta sibi.
Quæritur hinc etiam sententia judicialis,
Legibus ut cautum, plectitur ipse reus.
Horum sub primo causam dum conspicit esse,
Multa ligans paucis, papa perorat ita.

and his son Charles, assemble in the presence of the pope.

Cap. V.

Oratio ejusdem Stephani papæ super hoc in concilio.

fo. 133. " Usus habet, natura docet, ratione tenetur,
" Doctior in nautis ut regat ipse ratem.
" Vires corporeæ nautæ rediguntur ad artem,
" Quæ duo se mutuo consociata tenent.
" Nam sine virtutis vi cassa peritia constat,
" Virtus arte carens firma manere nequit.
" Indoctus sine vi, dum fluctus frangere nescit
" Nec valet, et clavum deserit atque ratem.
" Syrtibus et scopulis navis contracta, repulsa,
" Fissis jam tabulis, undique cedit aquis.
" Navita sic stolidus nescit discrimina ponti,
" Sed sibi commissos obruit unda freti.
" Cæsareæ classis pars olim sic ruit undis
" Dum maris Angligeni littora cæca subit
" Ferratasque sudes ibi cautus fixerat hostis,
" Ignarus negligit navita mortis iter.
" Currum sic auriga regens, dum flectere nescit,
" Se, sua confringit, labitur, isque perit,
" Solaris currus Phaëthon dum rexit habenas,
" Inscius artis erat, terra perusta dolet.

Speech of pope Stephen before the assembled nobles.

He urges the need of strong hands at the helm of the state.

" Solis justitiæ currum, qui vivus habetur,
" Quilibet indoctus dum regit, ille ruit.
" Sic sensus, virtus in præsule, rege petuntur,
" Quîs sine nec populis nec sibi digna vident.
" Si caret his præsul, si rex, vilescit honoris
" Et locus et meritum, subdita turba gemit.
" Desidiæ, ventri, pastoribus ecce subactis,
" Morsibus ipse lupi grex sine lege patet.
" Sic nunc Francigeni defecit gloria regni,
" Regia majestas jam sine rege ruit.

The debaucheries of the Merovingians were bringing the French into contempt in Italy.

" Undique fama volat, ciet omnes, transvolat Alpes,
" Auribus Italicis turpior esse nequit.
" Francorum probitas jam fit derisus ubique,
" Barbaricis telis jure subacta tremit.
" Desidis hoc regis levitas et inertia fecit,
" Luxus, non gravitas, non vigor, immo sopor.
" Corporis enervat vires, sensumque resolvit
" Luxuries, cultus ventris, amorque sui.
" Rex igitur vester nimio se stringit amore,
" Dum tria, quæ dixi, nocte dieque colit,
" Rem populi negligit; regis retinet nisi nomen;
" Indignusque manet sceptra tenere throni.
" Nam sicut regni rex dignus honorat honorem,
" Est stolidi regis sic inhonorus honos.
" Parvum magnanimis præclarum reddit honorem,
" Inscius et stultus maxima parva facit.
" Si docto confertur honos, plus doctus honori fo. 133 b.
" Luminis impendit, quam sibi clarus honos.
" Indoctus vitæ tenebris obscurat honorem,
" Ex stulti meritis deficit altus honos.
" Hoc in rege gemo, dum penso pondus honoris,
" Quod sic pro viciis unctio cassa manet.
" Incurrit pœnam contempto chrismate sancto,
" Si sceleris labem junxerit ipse sacro.

Stephen asserts the ancient

Romanæ sedis tenet hoc antiqua potestas,
" Reges, pontifices, ut removere queat.

power of the see of Rome to place and displace kings and bishops.

" Insuper ipsa novos reges et pontificatus,
" Quo nunquam fuerant, sistere jure potest.
" Sedis ego Petri, licet hoc indignus honore,
" Jus, claves, teneo, qualiter ipse videt.
" Claves sunt verax discretio, firma potestas;
" Quid liget et solvat, hæc videt, illa potest.
" Clavibus his geminis vix quilibet esse videtur
" Præditus, alternis dum sibi desit opus.
" Pontificum pauci discreti, sed tamen omnis
" Id ligat, id solvit quod sibi jure placet.
" Discretis ovibus non suppetit ipsa potestas,
" Si tamen hæc assit, clavis utraque viget.
" Antistes cæcus dissolvere sive ligare
" Nescit; et inde sibi mors manet atque suis.
" Sedis Apostolicæ, cum Petri clavibus, heres,
" Francigenum regnum clavibus hisce rego.
" Hujus enim regni, constat sententia nostra,
" Providus et fortis ut diadema gerat.
" Segnis et invalidus rex, quem ligat ipsa voluptas,
" Ut decet, hunc solvit curia nostra throno.
" Otia sectetur, quæ diligit, in paradiso
" Claustri tonsus, ovis pascua vera petat.
" Sicque voluptati turpi succedat honesta,
" Et requiem requies[1] pellat amore boni.
" Sic clavus clavum,[2] dictamnus[3] tela repellit,
" Verax religio crimina pellit ita.
" Antidotum felix, quod mentis vulnera sanat,
" Carni mors animæ ne sociata gemat.
" Clari pontifices, proceres, regalis honoris,
" Nostra simul præsens curia, clerus adest.
" Ex his Francigenum ducibus qui fortior armis,
" Sensu callidior, Francica sceptra regat.
" Nunc igitur nostrum sententia sit generalis:
" Vox eadem cunctis, consonet omnis idem.

Stephen deposes Childeric III. and directs that the shall become a monk.

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[1] *requie*, MS.

[2] *clavus clavum* substituted for *Danus Danum*, MS.

[3] *ditamnis*, MS. A plant supposed to cure wounds.

He gives Pepin to the French as their king.

" Filius hic noster Pipinus splendidus armis,[1]
" Consilio magnus, rex erit, idque volo.[2]
" Cum Karolo nato vobis hunc dono sacratum, *fo.* 134.
" Quorum Francigenum gloria jura ferat.
" His diadema datur a nobis jure perenni,
" Regia progenies jura paterna regat.
" Obtestor superos ne quis, diademate sumpto,
" Tantorum sobolem pellat ab arce throni.
" Hi sceptro digni, quos fulcit bellica virtus,
" Exacuit sensus, consiliumque regit,
" Quos vitæ probitas, et castus splendor honestat,
" Justificat virtus, temperat atque docet."

Cap. VI.

Quod Stephanus papa Pipinum Francorum regem, cum filio ejus Karolo Magno [et] exercitu, secum in Italiam contra Haistulfum Langobardorum regem duxit; bello commisso, Haistulfus fugiens intra Papiam includitur, obsidibus deinde datis et urbibus quas abstulerat redditis, a Pipino et Stephano papa in concordiam recipitur. Pipino cum exercitu reverso, Haistulfus fulminis ictu percutitur. Stephanus papa Desiderio duci Langobardorum diadema tradit. Quodque Stephano mortuo Adrianus papa successit.

Ista peroratus Stephanus, lux pontificalis,
Dignus Apostolici dicitur esse loci.
Laudatur virtus animi, constantia verbi,
Judicium regi, consiliumque duci.
Audacem virtus fecit, constantia firmum;
Hac fit rex monachus, sceptra dat illa duci.

---

[1] *Pipinus fit rex Francorum*, M.

[2] This was two years after Pepin's real accession (March, 752). Pope Zacharias had assented to the step, and St. Boniface had anointed the new king.

Childeric is sent to the cloister; Pepin and his son Charles are anointed.

Factus ovis Christi rex tonsus tendit ad astra;
Ungitur hinc Karolus, ejus et ipse pater.

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg. (Pertz, ix. 399).

Francia lætatur, Pipino sceptra tenente,
Huic natoque suo Gallica turba favet.
Rex Langobardus Haistulfus vindicat armis
Itala jura sibi, plebs proceresque gemunt.
Claras Italiæ devincit et occupat urbes,
Juris Apostolici prædia cuncta rapit.

Pepin succours Rome, defeating Astolph, king of the Lombards.

Pipinum Stephanus movet, urget ut arma capessat,
Haistulfum superans, Itala sceptra ferat.
Transvolat hinc Alpes Stephanus; rex, Francica virtus,
Quæ sibi bella volunt, rex sibi quisque parat.
Inde die facto solaris splendor ab armis
Emicat, hostilis stat geminata phalanx.
Insurgunt acies, belli furor undique multus,
Qui quantus fuerit, terminus ipse docet.
Nam rex Pipinus cuneos dum perforat hostis,
Italicis campis sanguine, cæde furit.
Instat et obtruncat rex Langobardus, at ensem
Exerit horrendum Francus, et ille fugit.
Ingressus Papiam Francorum cingitur armis,
Obsessus metuit tela cruenta, necem.
Compulsusque modis variis ad deditionem,
Reddere capta refert, si sibi vita datur.
Sic a Francigenis et papa jure receptus,
Urbes restituit, prædia capta sinit.

Abbrev. Gest. F. R. 400.

Astolph dies by lightning.

Inde sequens cervos, percussus fulguris ictu,
Ignibus ecclesias qui dedit, igne calet.
Hinc Desiderius, dux Langobardus in armis
Strenuus, a Stephano suscipit alta throni.

fo. 134 *b.*

Post Stephano Stephanus sociatur carne solutus,
Martyrio dispar, major honore sacro.

Election of pope Adrian I.

Romulei cleri jus eligit hinc Adrianum,
Hic Stephanum sequitur moribus, ore, fide.

Cap. VII.

De morte Pipini regis Francorum, cui, regno diviso, Karolus et Karlomannus[1] *successerunt. Sed Karlomanno*[1] *post duos annos defuncto, Karolus, qui postea Magnus dictus est, monarchiam regni obtinuit, Alemanniam, Saxoniam, Italiam sibi subjecit, Desiderium Langobardorum regem bello superavit, clausum intra Papiam cepit, apud S. Dionysium misit, monachum eum ibi fieri jussit, filium ejus Adalgisum a finibus Italiæ discedere fecit. Et de terris quas idem Karolus tenuit. Quodque defunctus aromatibus conditus est, et apud Aquisgranum sepultus, filio ejus Ludovico monarchiam totius imperii paterni obtinente. Quodque paulatim Francorum reges regnum Italiæ et Alemanniæ, aliarumque provinciarum, quas Karolus habuit, inertia amiserint.*

Death of Pepin (A.D. 768).

Dudum Pipinus, rediens cum laude triumphi,
Liquerat Italici culmina celsa soli.
Qui, tribus emensis lustris, diadema reliquit;
Martyr corpus habet, Parisiusque dolet.

Charlemagne and Carloman succeed him. Death of Carloman.

Hunc nati Karolus Karlomannusque sequuntur,
Culmine, consiliis, viribus ambo pares.
Quorum posterior binis post deficit annis,
In Karolo solo spes manet ipsa throni.
Nec spes falsa fuit, cum solus Francigenarum
Regum flos, speculum, sensibus, ense fuit.
Præteritos superans, obscurat posteriores,
Ex his nemo sibi par probitate, throno.
Ampliat imperium præ cunctis, viribus, armis;
Auctum, desidia posteriore ruit.

Charlemagne's conquests.

Hic Alamannorum cervices subdidit altas,
Pressit Saxoniæ colla superba jugo.

---

[1] *Karlomagnus* and *Karlomagno* respectively, MS.

Italiæ stravit vires, sibi quæque subegit,
In domina mundi tunc diadema tulit.
Hinc Langobardum regem superavit, et ipsum
In Papia clausum, vi, probitate capit.

The Lombard king Didier and his son driven from Italy.

Einhardi Vit. Kar. Mag. (Pertz, ii. 446).

Hujus ab Italia sobolem tunc depulit armis;
Clarus Adalgisus Francica signa fugit.
Sic Desiderius captus traducitur Alpes,
Italiam linquit Parisiusque venit.

Didier is tonsured at St. Denis.

Jusserat ut Karolus, Dionysius [1] excipit [2] istum,
Stropha sibi statim callida [3] facta fuit.

Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg. (Pertz, ix. 400).

Ex propriis regi fit flava corona capillis,
Italici regni qui diadema tulit.
Purpura regalis fit ei jam pulla cuculla,
Pulmentum similat regius ille cibus,
Italiæ fines claustro metitur in arcto,
Vertitur in requiem bellicus ille labor.
Hymnisonos cantus mutat clangore tubarum,
Daviticam citharam regia sacra sonat,
Pro sceptro baculus jam fessos sustinet artus;
Hinc moritur, cultus regius omnis abest.

He dies, and is buried on the right of the altar at St. Denis.

Martyris altaris tenet hunc pars dextera [4]: dextræ
Judicis ipsius consocietur ovis.
Langobardorum regem sic vicit, abegit,
Claustravit Karolus; illeque finit ita.

Extension of Charlemagne's empire.

Sic Langobardos, sic Romam, sic Alamannos
Perdomuit, cepit, subdidit ille ferus.
Sic sibi Saxoniæ gens Pictavisque superba,
Andegavisque potens subdita semper erat.

fo. 135.

Flandria servivit, timuit Burgundia sceptrum,
Lotharingia fert jura verenda ducis;
Neustria tunc eadem quæ Francia jussa ferebat,
Sic Britonum cervix flexa tributa dabat.

---

[1] It is stated that Didier was confined first at Liège and afterwards in the Abbey of Corbey, not at St. Denis.

[2] Originally *suscipit*, but altered by the first hand.

[3] *calida*. MS.

[4] "In sinistra parte monasterii." *Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg.*, 400.

Hæc summus Karolus tenuit, virtute subegit,
Hæc soboli linquens, ut reor, astra petit.

He dies and is buried at Aix-la-Chapelle in 814.

Corpus Aquisgranum servat, quod myrrha perunxit,
Balsama vina tenent ardua membra viri.
Bis septenus erat octingentesimus annus,
Cum Deitas carnis tegmine clausa fuit.

Louis-le-Débonnaire.

Post Ludovicus triplices compescit habenas,
Dum patrii juris suscipit ipse decus.
Cum sibi subjectis servit Maguncia, Roma,
Parisius; triplicem sic regit ille thronum.
Regni sic triplicis primas dum continet urbes,
Ex tribus his unum jam diadema facit.

Gradual dissolution of Charlemagne's empire.

Posterior soboles in partes dividit unum,
Pars minor a toto deficit ipsa suo.
Sic Alamannorum, sic perdunt Romulidarum,
Francigeni reges subdita jura sibi.
Gloria paulatim regni sic deficit hujus,
Ut sibi subjectis vix dare jura queat.
Jamque duces regni tot reges esse videntur;
Rex facit, ille jubet; quod vetat, iste sinit.

Cap. VIII.

De colloquio quod inter Ludovicum Francorum regem et Henricum regem Anglorum extitit, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXVIII., *apud Gisortium, præsentibus episcopis et principibus utriusque regni, Toma archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ab Anglorum rege jam discordante et in parte Francorum regis assistente. Quodque regibus his in diversis ab invicem locis separatis, rex Francorum per proceres regni mandat, ut ex ducatu Normanniæ et Acquitaniæ et Andegavensi comitatu, rex Anglorum quod justum est servitium Francorum regi et ducibus persolvat.*

War between Henry II. and Louis VII. in 1168 [1167].

Anno milleno centeno bisque quaterno [1]
Cum decies seno Francia bella movet.
Tertia pars regni Karoli sibi sola relicta
A se vix regitur, vix sibi tota favet.
Maximus Anglorum rex hic et fulguris instar
Henricus juvenis nititur esse suus.
Francigeni juris comitatus necne ducatus
Bis binos retinens, jam facit esse suos.
Temnit Francigenis audacia subdere colla,
Indomitusque leo respuit omne jugum.
Hinc Ludovicus cum Francis surgit in ira [2]:
Perdit membra throni, dum tenet ipse caput.
Sic cæsis membris, capitis vis debilitatur,
Parva fit, hoc læso, corporis ipsa salus.
Regis ad alloquium nostri rex Francicus ille
Milite vallatus convenit atque duce.
More sibi sueto, cuneis stipatus et armis,
Advolat Anglorum rex procerumque cohors.

Henry is too proud to remain a vassal of France.

The two kings, each with an army, approach the place of conference.

---

[1] MCXLVIII., M. erroneously. The date in the text is also wrong, not only according to R. de Monte (vi. 516), but also on the author's own showing, for his series of events leads up to the death of Matilda, an event he rightly places under 1167.

[2] *in iram*, MS.

Pontificumque chorus præsens, vis religionis
Ut sibi præscribit, pacis amœna petit.

Becket is present with hostile intent.

Exul adest Thomas antistes Canturiensis,[1]
Fœdera perturbat, prœlia sola cupit.
Ut dolor amissi compellit pontificatus,
Tela quibus pacem dirimat ore gerit.
Primitus iste tulit regalis jura sigilli, f. 155 b
Hinc Dorobernensis præsulis alta tenet.

Ill-feeling between Becket and prince William.

Hic regis fratrem pertæsum semper habebat
Ne consul foret hic, obvius ille fuit;

Becket had prevented William from marrying the daughter of earl Warrenne.

Cum nata comitis comitem Warenna tulisset,[2]
Nobilis hic,[3] præsul ni nocuisset ei.
Ira permotus, numquam rediturus ab Anglis
Advenit, is matri nunciat ista piæ.
Hinc Beccum veniens fratrum se tradit amori
Heu, juvenis clarus quam cito fata subit!
Paulo post Rodomi morbo grassante gravatur,
Diffidunt medici, jus subit ille necis.

Death of prince William (on Jan. 30, 1164).

Corpus habet Rodomus, dolet hinc, ut visio dixit
Nam Becci monachis se moriendo dedit.

Henry's grief at his brother's death. He blames Becket.

Fratrem rex plangit, putat hunc ex sanguine mixto
Iræ præteritæ sic subiisse necem.
Causatur præsul, necis hujus causa notatur;
Regia mens illi nota fit, inde timet.

---

[1] Thus from a man writing at the time and near the place we learn that Becket was present at Gisors as well as at Montmirail.

[2] The Countess Warenne became a widow in 1160. William, the third son of the empress, who is here referred to, seems to have been left (Newburgh, pp. 112, 113) without provision, and the chroniclers generally are very silent as to him. (See *Recueil de l'Anjou*, 1853.) He appears in the Pipe Rolls as receiving large sums, and R. de Monte (vi. 513) mentions that he died at Rouen, 30 Jan 1164, and was buried in the church of St. Mary. Under the same year R. de Monte says, "Hamelinus, naturalis frater Henrici, duxit comitissam de Garenna, relictam Willelmi comitis Moritonii." Six years later, according to Fitzstephen (*Mat. Hist. T. B.* iii. 142), one of Becket's murderers accompanied a stroke with the words, "Hoc habeas pro amore domini mei Willelmi fratris regis."

[3] *his* . . *eum*, MS.

Transvolat hinc[1] pontum, papam petit, exulat idem,
Francigeni regni mœnia cara tenet.
Se queritur pulsum, sed Roma pulsus et ille
Nec sibi nec pulsis tutus adesse potest.
Italiam redit hic, colit is nunc Francica rura,
Arma movet, cædes præparat, ore furit.
Aut sibi restituet rex Anglus pontificatum,
Aut per bella, neces, auferet iste thronum.
Nolit sive velit, rex vivet tempore longo,
Et senio canus tendet ad alta poli:
Hunc incorruptum servabunt balsama pura,
Totus splendidior sole perennis erit.
Natos conspiciet præclaros viribus, armis:
Hi jaculaturi fulmina, tela, faces.

Becket is living as an exile in France and is stirring up war against Henry. The author prophecies that Henry will nevertheless live long.

At præsul, triplicis qui fraudis Symonis heres
Perfidus est, merito sedis ab arce ruit:
Vellitur, arescit, moritur plantatio falsa,
Planta Patris cœli vivida semper erit.

Becket is heir to the sins of Simon Magus.

Rex igitur Gallus, tendens Gisortia[2] rura,
Angligeni regis proxima castra venit.
Francigeni juris terras, quas detinet ille,
Is petit, aut solvat debita jura sibi.

The king of France approaches Gisors.

Quid sibi Danorum dux debeat aut Aquitanus
Novit, et Andegavus Pictaviusque comes.
Cum tantos teneat bis binos solus honores,
Serviat ut Francis, est sibi summus honos.
Prædecessorum teneatur norma suorum;
Francis servierant, serviat iste simul.

He demands Henry's allegiance.

fo. 136. Jus ratioque tenent regi quod serviat illi,
Imperii cujus talia membra tenet.
Regi per regni proceres hæc mandat; at ille,
Regem se recolens, efferus ista refert.

---

[1] *hunc*, MS.

[2] From this it appears that the conference was held near Gisors. R. de Monte merely says "in the "Vexin."

Cap. IX.

**Oratio Henrici regis[1] coram proceribus suis, respondens regis Francorum mandatis.* [fo. 110.]*

Henry's speech to his nobles.

Anglorum diadema gerit; se subdere regi,
  Tum ducibus propriis tum sibi turpe manet.
Regibus Angligenis proprium, ni bellica virtus
  Hos premat, alterius se dare nolle jugo.
Par sibi stat probitas, par virtus, parque potestas,
  Ut mens, utque manus, ut docet ipse thronus.
A Normannigenis ducibus Franci superantur,
  Extorquetur ab his Neustria tota simul.
Angligenas[2] vincunt, et totum nobile regnum
  Tantorum subicit vis violenta sibi.
Reges sic facti, nullis virtute minores,
  Viribus, ense simul seque suosque tegunt.
Cædes, bella, faces patiuntur nec subiguntur,
  Clarior immo micat vis[3] probitasque throni.
Inque vicem referunt cædes, incendia, prædas;
  Aut sibi pax, aut vi colla superba prement.
Vi patria regnum patrium patriosque ducatus
  Contra Francigenas semper ubique tenent.
Divitiis, ortu, regno, virtute, vel armis
  Francigenum regi se canit esse parem.
Hique pares cuneis certent, aut corpore solo,
  Major ut ex paribus fulminet ense suo.
Par diadema sibi fiet pro viribus impar,
  Ex geminis sceptris vis minor una duum:
Natos regales bis binos crescere cedat
  Annis, ingenio, viribus, ense, manu.

---

[1] This heading at first ran, "Oratio "Henrici regis *quam tunc ad milites* "*suos habuit*," &c., but the erroneous words, derived from the heading of the next chapter but one, are expuncted.

[2] *Angligenos*, MS.

[3] May be read *vis* or *jus*.

Bellica gesta legant, aut verbis hæc doceantur,
  Testa recens[1] potet[2] bella futura sibi.
Curtius his Macedo, Vigetius arma peroret,
  Cumque Suetonio Cæsaris acta canant.
Hinc sibi narrentur vires virtutis avitæ,
  Bella quibus quantis viribus ipsa gerant.
Audax vis mentis nutritur talibus escis,
  Cautior in bellis ista tenendo manet.
His disciplinis imbutos cum dabit ætas,
  Natos constituet pro probitate duces.
Regi Francigenum subjecti tunc sua jura
  Viribus obtineant obsequioque suo.
Offerat hic lympham, mantilia præbeat iste,
  Tergeat ablutas nobilis ille manus;
Regi sic proprio cum discum deferat alter,
  Alter conficiat pocula digna sibi.[3]
Curia Francorum bis binis splendeat astris,
  Horum rex, proceres, subdita colla premant.
fo. 136 *b.* Obsequio multo pro terra quisque laboret,
  Sic vis ipsa throni Francigenæque volunt.
Quatuor hisque rotis solium regale feratur,
  Sed ruet id forsan si grave fiat onus.
Flumine bis bino Francorum prata rigentur,
  Sed solet alluvio multa domare solum.
Rex, si fata sinant, servabit more parentum
  Se, solii culmen, subdita cuncta sibi.
Regis Francigenum discum scyphumque refutat,
  Curia suspecti judicis extat ibi.
Rollonis natum scit traditione peremptum;
  Anterior casus posteriora docet.
Redditur astutus discernens facta priorum,
  Multa per exemplum quisque cavere potest.
Regi rex fari veniet sub climate nudo;
  Quod peraget regi, nil nisi regis erit.

Mindful of ancient treachery he will confer with the king of France alone.

[1] Hor. *Ep.* i. 2. 69, 70.

[2] *portet ?*

[3] Prince Henry somewhat later, *i.e.*, on 2 Feb. 1169 (R. de Monte, vi. 518), actually waited at table as steward of France.

Cap. X.

Quod responso Anglorum regis audito, in quo mandatum miserat se Francis nil persolvere, nisi quod regiæ dignitatis foret, Francorum rex hominium suum eidem regi reddidit: quod ille recipiens, cum discordia uterque cum suis discedit, castella sua quisque eorum munit. Rex postea Anglorum armatus, cum armatorum agmine militum, Calmontem, Francorum regis castellum, petit. Francorum acies armata de castello prosiliens audacter regi et Normannis ceterisque armatis obviam procedit.

Hearing Henry's reply, the king of France returns to him his fealty and orders him to quit the kingdom (4 June 1167).

Nunciat hæc regi jus pontificalis honoris:[1]
Regnum Francigenum quod ruat ille refert,
Ut sibi consilium dictat, vel comprimit ira,
Regem nunc hominem denegat esse suum.
Præcipit a regno discedere, castra relinquat,
Cis mare ne maneat consulit, immo jubet.
Audit ut iste ferus dominum quod se negat ille,
Servum se Domini commonet esse poli.
Haud mare transibit, sed terras viribus armis
Defendet proprias, jus reget omne suum.
Nil habet ex Francis, dudum sibi quisque parentum,
Uxor et ipsa dedit quicquid in orbe tenet.
Tollere qui tentat sibi per vim jura paterna,
Is metuat patrii perdere jura throni.

The colloquy breaks up with threats on each side.

Regum colloquium sub verbis solvitur istis,
Quos procerum virtus pacificare nequit.
In sua discedunt, incendia, bella parantur,
Castellisque suis undique quisque timet.
Milite, farre, mero, dapibus murisque vel armis
Regum quisque suos cingit, adimplet, alit.

---

[1] Thus no direct personal colloquy took place.

Castles are provisioned and prepared for war.

Anglus rex igitur, firmatis undique marchis,
Urbibus, et castris, bella futura cavet.
Ex propriis terris lectas legit ille cohortes;
Has sibi consocians, tutus ubique manet.
Expendat quantum jam nullus dinumeraret,
Nam numero numerus, ut reor, ipse caret.
Thesauros aperit, nil clarius extat honore,
Argentum superat gloria celsa throni.
Ut sibi subjectæ vallentur ab hostibus urbes
Præstolatur, et his subdita castra simul.
Cum Northmannigenis a regno Francigenarum
Hunc vis vel ratio pellere nulla potest.
Attamen obsessis castellis efferus ipse
Cum sociis aderit, viribus, ense, nece.
fo. 137. Sed vis Francigenum cupit, ardet, nec tamen audet,
Ut castella ducis obsidione premat.

The French army lies idle at Mantes.

Hi cum rege suo cedunt epulisque jocisque,
Hosque Medunta tenet, Bacchus[1] et ipse fovet.
Ille sub arma madet, quem thorax fulgida cingit,
Cum cuneis multis firmat ubique sua.
Arguitur cum nil a Francis is patiatur,
Cur acies tantæ, cur sibi tanta manus?
Cur impensarum non saltem pondus abhorret,
Quas cum Francigenis orbis et ipse stupet?

Henry leaves Gisors with a force of Normans and Welsh, going towards Chaumont.

Aut socios spargens hos in castella remittat,
Aut solii tanti culmine digna gerat.
His rex impulsus Gisortia mœnia linquit,
Agminis ex armis sol magis ipse nitet.
Ex Normannigenis, Walensibus, agmine juncto,
Hunc equitem ducit, currit at ille pedes.
Calmontem, clarum castrum, petit inde, quod armis,
Milite, valle, situ, divitiisque viget.

The brother of the French

Regius hic frater, Francorum gloria tota,
Militiæ virtus nobilitasque manet.

---

[1] *Bacus*, MS.

king is in the castle.

Angligeni regis timor istos associavit,
Ut vis tanta virum regia castra premat.

Henry orders the Welsh to attack the castle by the channel of the river.

Armis irradians, pedetentim proximat ille,
Præcedit, sequitur quem geminata phalanx.
Imperat armatis Walensibus ingrediantur
Castellum, fluvii quo fluit unda liquens.
Hinc cum Northmannis ad castri mœnia tendit,
Cernitur ipsa phalanx, dum tenet arva soli.

The Normans approach the walls and the French make a sally.

Armatur virtus, Francorum gloria regni
Cum strepitu portis exilit, arva tenet.
Occurrit cuneis regalibus, arva coruscant,
Advolat hinc Danus, Francus at inde venit.
Tam claras acies dum rex procedere portis
Inspicit, admirans personat ista suis:

Cap. XI.

Oratio Henrici regis, quam tunc ad milites suos habuit.

Henry's speech to his soldiers.

" Gloria nulla quidem constat, quod fortis et audax
" In fragiles, timidos, prœlia clara movet.
" Fortis dum superat fortes, id gloria, virtus,
" Fortibus ex geminis fortior ipse micat.[1]
" Militiæ virtus hæc est, et laus probitatis,
" Horribiles acies vi superare, manu.
" En vis Francigenum properat Calmontis ab arce,
" Inque loco regis frater et ejus adest.

The brother of the French king is with the force issuing from Chaumont.

" Quanta sibi virtus animi, spes quanta triumphi,
" Vultibus in nostris impetus ipse docet.
" Occurrunt nobis, vim temnunt obsidionis,
" Angligenum regem se superare putant.
" Laus sibi virtutis debetur jure perenni,
" Quod Northmannigenas pellere retro volunt.
" Hoc regum[2] potuit nemo nullæque cohortes,
" Gens invincibilis vincere cuncta solet.

[1] *nutat*, MS.

[2] *regnum*, MS.

fo. 137 *b.* " Hi forsan numero superant, superant probitate,
" Quæ tamen his probitas, cernet utraque pha-
" lanx.
" Advolat hic Petrus[1] sibi fortis, rexque secundus,
" Tertius is fiet quem vigil ille videt.
" Adsunt Warlandi, Merlonibus associantur,
" Pisseii virtus fœdere juncta venit.
" Francigenum vis terna micat, triplicisque phalangis
" Hi flos, lux, speculum, pectore, mente, manu.
" Francorum proceres numero vel nobilitate
" Se Northmannigenis notificare solent.
" Nil valet in bellis jactantia nobilitatis:
" Degener omnis erit, qui timet atque fugit.
" Nobilis is solus qui viribus opprimit hostem,
" Qui sibi, qui sociis vis clypeusque manet.
" Rollonis virtus Northmannica jura reliquit[2]
" Nobis, progenies ipsius ecce sumus:
" Quod tanta probitate suis quæsivit et armis,
" Francorum feritas tollere nempe cupit.
" Vis Northmannigenum tantis sudoribus olim
" Abstulit hæc, tenuit, possidet, obstat, habet.
" Proh dolor! id quanti censebitur esse pudoris,
" Si requies perdat quod labor ipse dedit?
" Immo non requies, sed turpis inertia, Francis
" Serviat ut Danus, par feritate, manu.
" Non par, at major. Nam quos sibi subdidit armis,
" Cum terris propriis, temnit habere pares.
" Hi tamen, hi tanti rapient castella vel urbes,
" Quas patrium nobis jus dedit? Absit idem.
" Non castrum nostrum, non urbes ingredientur,
" Forsitan agnoscent jam sua nostra fore.
" Aut horum fusas acies linquamus in arvis,
" Aut cogamus eos carpere jura fugæ.
" Ignibus et ferro castelli nobilis hujus
" Ante suos vultus dejiciantur opes.

Reminds his men of Rollo's deeds.

Intends to destroy Chaumont

[1] Pierre de Courtenai, fourth son of Louis VI.

[2] *relinquit*, MS.

before the face of the enemy.

"Hoc[1] Normannigenum sibi fiet pignus amoris,
"Per medias flammas dum sibi cursus erit.
"Terra negetur eis, armis claudantur in arce,[2]
"Hæc duo linquantur, murus et ipse rogus.
"Francigenæ torres teneant, cœlumque favillas,
"Fama solum lustret, laus tamen iste labor.
"Prologus hic belli, præludia talia scribat;
"Major erit, fateor, bellicus ipse liber."

Cap. XII.

De conflictu apud Calmontem inter Henricum regem, junctis sibi Normannis, et duces Franciæ cum cuneis suis; quodque Walenses[3] ex jussu regis per fluvium castellum ingressi, ignem immittunt. Franci Normannorum impetum ferre non valentes, regique terga dantes, per medios castelli ignes in turrem sese receperunt, Thebaldo quodam Francorum principe in introitu capto.

The attack on Chaumont (about July 1167).

Dixit, et armatis legionibus undique cinctus
Francos aggreditur, obstat et ipsa phalanx.
Audax hæc animis, bellorum lege perita,
Se tegit, et Danos vi penetrare cupit.
Sic venatorum turbis leo pressus in ipsas
Nititur, et sudat tradere cuncta neci;
Aut refugit tandem laqueos aut stringitur arte,
Jusque suum perdens, desinit esse suus.
Haud aliter regis cuneos compellit et arcet *fo.* 138.
Francigenum virtus; stat tamen ille ferus.
Obliquos validus sic murus sustinet ictus
Arietis, at fortis permanet ipse lapis.
Hostilis feritas Danorum pariete firmo
Tentato resilit, cornua fracta cadunt.
Hic vis Francigenum, fratris cum rege, sub armis
Sudat, et in Danos tota repente ruit.
Regem si superet, sibi gloria lausque perennis;
Nulla sibi luxit clarior ante dies.

The French forces attack the besiegers.

---

[1] *hæc*, MS.
[2] *arcem*, MS.
[3] *Valenses*, MS.

Hoc petit, explorat, contendit, anhelat, et audet,
Armis, militibus, mente, furore, manu.
Normannos similis tum vis tum gloria tangit:
Vis sibi, si vincunt, gloria regis erit.
Seque suosque premi rex non tulit; ut tulit ardor,
In medias acies irruit ipse leo.
Vis Normannigenum, proprii ducis arma sequendo,
Militiæ turmis firmat et ambit eum.
Gens ducibus propriis fidissima, tutior armis
Nulla fuit, nam vi cedere retro nequit.[1]
Hæc variis bellis totiens pulsata, parentum
Vincendi proprium jus sibi servat idem.
Historicis campis lectoris mens spatietur,
Nusquam perspicit hos expetiisse[2] fugam.
Dedecus armatos fugiendi jus probitatis
Non patitur, mavult ferre pericla necis.
Regia vis sævit, sævit Normannicus horror,
Virtus Francigenum cedit ad arma ducis.
Nam nec ferre valens Normannos, nec superare,
Inde capi metuit, vitat et inde necem.

The French are beaten back to the fortifications.

Quod reliquum fuit, hostiles acies fugiendo
Calmontem repetit, sed duo mira videt.
Cum Normannigenis a tergo rex galeatus
Insequitur, castrum pascitur ipse rogus.

The Welsh meanwhile swim the river and set fire to Chaumont.

Tranarant fluvium Walenses, mœnibus ipsis
Vulcanum dederant, depopulantur opes.
Clamor prosequitur fugientes, clamor ubique,
Cum gemitu planctus aëris ampla replet.
Innatus vigor et levitas Walensibus arma
Suggerit, implentur quæque furore, rogo.

The French are driven through the burning town.

At rex Angligenum per flammas ire coegit
Francorum cuneos, nec modus ipse fugæ.

---

[1] *Nota fidelitatem et constantiam et audaciam Normannorum, et quod numquam reperitur ipsos a bello fugisse,* M. Truly Étienne de Rouen has omitted all notice of the battle of Chartres, and passes over other defeats sustained by the Northmen.

[2] *experiise* (sic), MS.

Prævenit hic socios, alium præoccupat ille,
Ingreditur castrum rexque suique simul.

The king enters the town and the French take to the citadel.

Hi fugiunt, castrum subeunt, rapiuntur in arcem,
Rex aciesque suæ mœnia clausa tenent.
Cum strepitu portas ingresso rege, Tebaldus
Dux cunei capitur, sistitur ante ducem.

Count Thibaud is taken.

Rex dux subridens, captum nunc asserit; ille
Belli sic varios commonet esse modos.
Quem fidei propriæ rex credens, laudat, honorat, *fo.* 138 *b.*
Tum quia perstiterat, tum quia solus erat.
Nobile castellum sic captum, depopulatum,
Gloria fit Danis, Francigenisque dolor.

The king's brother is shut up in the castle.

Sic flos militiæ Francorum, frater et ipse
Regis, cum cuneis clausus in arce gemit.
Præda ditatus Walensis tendit ad arcem,
Ignibus et ferro solvere clausa cupit.

Henry holds his troops back from the assault.

Parcere sed victis, confusio quos sua clausit,
Rex jubet, armatos detinet ipse retro.
Hinc rediens Normannigenum vim laudat et arma,
Francorum probitas senserat ista duo.
Egressis cuneis, Vulcanus sævit, et audax
Æolus e contra prælia firma gerit.
Impellunt sese mutuo per tecta per aulas,

The destruction of Chaumont is completed.

Bella Ceres [1] sentit, pæne perusta gemit.
Pampineas Bacchus dum perdit et ipse coronas,
Walenses pedites abluit unda dei,
Vulcani varias transmittit Juno favillas,
Æthereo fratri flava Diana jubet.
Hæc magni Martis rabies violenta peregit,
Imperio solo numina tanta movet.
Omnibus exustis, dum mœnia sola relinquit,
Francigenas pandit quam sit ad arma potens.

---

[1] R. de Monte (Pertz, vi. p. 516) shows the importance of the capture of this town, for he says that Louis had deposited in it his treasure and stores for the prosecution of the war.

Cap. XIII.

Quod hæc Ludovicus rex Francorum audiens cum Francis ira movetur, Gisortium vel Rothomagum deliberant obsidendum. Quodque olim Otho Alamannorum imperator, cum Ludovico Francorum rege et Arnulfo Flandrensi comite, hanc urbem simul post mortem Willelmi filii Rollonis obsederunt. Othonis imperatoris nepos cum Alamannis per fluminis[1] *pontem ingressus, cum repentino civium tumultu excipitur, et cum suis super ipsum pontem trucidatur. Arnulfus comes Flandrensis, cujus consilio imperator et rex advenerant, nocte eadem cum suis fuga elabitur. Otho id cognoscens, necemque nepotis et suorum deflens, urbemque considerans captu difficilem, cum Ludovico Francorum rege et toto exercitu, ab obsidione discedit.*

Henry marches back to Gisors.

Exhinc cum sociis Gisortia mœnia tendit:
Miles uti sudat, pondere spumat equus!
Castro succenso, Francis virtute fugatis,
Urbes et patriam fama volando replet.
Ludovicus ut hæc, comitum procerumque caterva,
Comperit, Angligenum regis ad arma stupent.
Horrent tam subito subversum nobile castrum,
Divitiis pollens, mœnibus atque situ.
Horrida vis, quæ tanta die subvertit in uno,
Quod vix obsidio debuit arcta quidem!
Tam clari sceleris pondus dum concipit ægre,
Rex procerumque furor totus ad arma ruit.

---

[1] The annotator writes in the margin, "*Dudo ponit quod hoc fuit super* "*pontem portæ Belvacensis.*" This appears in the text of the heading of the chapter in Cardinal Mai's edition, and Dr. R. Pauli ("The "Academy," No. 55) has thus been misled into believing that the author refers by name to Dudo of St. Quentin.

Ardua Francigenum virtus glomeratur in unum.
Hancque Medunta tenens, congerit arma, faces.

The rage of the French at the news.

Regis castellum rex binis his superavit,
Pro feritate pari præparat ista duo.
Nam sibi multimodum ferri genus, ignis adurens,
Ut Normannigenas opprimat ense, rogo.

They determine to attack Gisors and Pacy.

Paceium totum, Gisortia tecta peruret:
Hæc Normannigenum proxima castra sibi.
Murmurat at frustra subvertere Cæsaris urbem,
Ut caput extinctum languida membra gerat.
Sed sibi concludit nisus audacia falsa,
Noscit[1] ab antiquo quis sit in urbe vigor.[2, 3]

. . . .

Cap. XIV.

Quod post Calmontem combustum, regis et Francorum iram consul Flandrensis prospiciens, colloquium Anglorum regis petit, iracundiam regis et Francorum intimat, rogat ut aliquid in terra sua exuri permittat, quo sic eorum ira conquiescat, idque Mathildis imperatrix filio mandat. Rex Andeleium exuri permittens, burgensibus, ut villam vacuam linquant et inde recedant, mandat.

. . . .

Louis requires to be pacified by burning a Norman town. [Andely], an open town belonging to

Fulmina sacra Jovis qui fabricat, auxilietur, *fo.* 140.
Cum Zephyro Boreas fulmen ad astra ferant.
Sit licet hic burgus sine muris, est tamen ista
Francigenum probitas, ignis ut igne ruat.
Ignis castelli burgi superetur ab igne,
Est hic pontificis, regis et illud erat.

---

[1] *nescit*, MS.

[2] *Fo.* 139, containing about 100 lines, is missing.

[3] *Nota de fortitudine villæ Rothomagi, quæ aliquando simul obsessa fuit ab imperatore, a rege Francorum, et a comite Flandrensi in eadem die; et interempto nepote imperatoris, omnes recesserunt, nec aliud facere potuerunt*, M.

Pontifici reddat metuit quod solvere regi:
Armis iste caret, tela sed ille gerit.

the archbishop of Rouen, is chosen.

Cap. XV.

[*fo.* 100 *b.*]*

Quod Ludovicus rex Franciæ Andeleium armatus cum exercitu petit, villam eandem ecclesiæ Rothomagensis, sine murorum objectu, vacuam ab hominibus reperit, ignem in vindictam[1] nobilis castri sui Calmontis supponit, multique in itinere tam homines quam equi vi caloris sunt extincti; sicque ira satiata, postea cum rege Anglorum pacem fecit.*

Consulis acceptis verbis, rex Francicus armis
Induitur, collo reliquiasque gerit:
Tutior incedit divino Nomine fretus,
Vallatus variis ossibus ipse sacris.
Corpus pontificis, quem pertulit Ariopagus,
Quod secum tulerit fama tremenda refert.
Is præsul, cæsus capitali jure, peremptus
Francigenas forsan cerneret ense rui.
Arca Dei quondam capitur, ruit Israel ipse;
Exemplo simili non timet iste capi.
Armatur virtus Francorum, gloria regni,
Villas ignis habet quo suus[2] extat iter.
Hic Audoenus villas sex perdit et unam,
Has uri patitur Nigasiique Vadum.
Ista futura sciens, rex tunc Andeleienses
Linquant ut vacuas præcipit ipse domos.
Naves conscendunt, sua gestant, longius astant;
Sublatis opibus stat vacuata domus.
Assunt Francigenæ, bellum cum pariete nudo
Ignibus et ferro cum feritate gerunt.
Quilibet hoc prædo potuit, potuit puer unus,
In vacuam villam stramina ferre, faces.
Hinc Franci redeunt, tanta probitate peracta,
Ecclesiæ Rodomi villa perusta manet.

Louis; protected by relics, advances on Andely.

St. Ouen loses thus seven towns with Gasny.

R. de Monte, vi. 516.

Henry bids the people of Andely vacate the town.

The French enter and burn the deserted houses.

vindicta, MS. | [2] Thus in MS.

Præclari castri fuit hæc vindicta perusti,
  Ista tamen Francis gloria nulla fuit.
Dum venit hincque redit rex et vis Francigenarum,
  Torruit hos Phœbus, Sirius ipse simul.

R. de Monte, vi. 516.

Æthereus fomes, vis[1] solis tanta perussit,
  Ut pudeat peditum commemorare sitim.
Horrida namque sitis homines extinxit equosque,

The French army suffers from the heat and from disease.

  Reddit ægros potus turbidus, immo lues.
Ex morbo subeunt mortem per castra per urbes,
  Talis et in Francos ultio diva fuit.
Inclyta Mathildis,[2] si jam translata fuisset,
  Stragibus ex multis, heu dolor, ille dies!

The empress Maud advised her son to permit the destruction.

Cernens quod natus sibi solus et unicus esset,
  Ne bellum gereret præcipit, idque monet.
Infidos animos, casus varios docet esse.
  Si ruit is, periit matris et omne genus.
Regibus ambobus pro tempore pacificatis,
  Discedunt acies, et sua quisque petit.

Cap. XVI.

Altercatio inter Normannum et Francum pro Andeleio burgo Rothomagensis archiepiscopi a toto Francorum exercitu combusto, et Calmonte nobili Francorum castello, muris et aqua cincto, uno Normannorum et regis impetu destructo.

Francus.[3]

Dispute between a Norman

Jactitat id Francus quod burgum diruit igne
  Clarum divitiis, culmine, plebe, situ.

---

[1] *ac solis*, MS.

[2] Hoveden, i. 282, under the year 1169, says, "Lodowicus . . . com-"bussit Andely . . . non resistente "Henrico rege Angliæ, in vin-"dictam Calvi Montis, . . . quod "prædictus rex Angliæ anno præ-"cedenti combusserat per Walenses "suos." These dates are negatived by the joint testimony of R. de Monte (vi. 516) and Étienne de Rouen, who here speaks of the empress Maud as alive.

[3] The annotator puts *Fr.* and *Nor.* The scribe intended to mark the alternations by capitals, which are indicated by small letters in the usual way, but not inserted. The annotator adds, *Altercatio regis Francorum et ducis Normanniæ.*

Normannus.

Sed nec divitias rapuit, plebem nec abegit,
Stat situs, exussit culmina sola soli.
Deerat hic murus, munimen defuit arcis,
Urere sic villam nil probitatis erat.

and a Frenchman respecting the destruction of Chaumont and Andely.

Francus.

At Normannigenum vis murus debuit esse,
Arx galeata suis rex procerumque vigor.

Normannus.

Horridus hic armis, animi feritate tremendus,
Noluit, at potuit, sternere cæde, rogo.
Consilium procerum fuit hoc et jussio matris,
Quod castrum tulerat, villa perusta ferat.

Henry had permitted the destruction of Andely on the advice of his mother and his nobles.

Francus.

Quid sibi consilii, quid mater jusserit, ille
Solus habet, burgum Francus in igne tenet.

Normannus.

Gloria nulla fuit, villas quod Francus adussit
Sic vacuas, immo dedecus istud erit.
At si Vernonem,[1] ubi rex tunc deguit, igni
Traderet, id virtus, gloria, lausque foret.

It would have been a triumph for the French to have taken Vernon, where Henry then was.

Francus.

Deguit, at vidit galeatas ipse phalanges
Francigenum terras urere sæpe suas.

Normannus.

Nequaquam vidit, sed villas urere cessit,
Ut sic Francigenum desinat ipse dolor.

---

[1] This and other passages about this point furnish distinct additions to the excellent Itinerary of Henry II. which Bishop Stubbs prefixes to Bened. Petrob. (vol. ii.).

Matris erat Christi burgus, sic ecclesiarum
Prædia, Danorum jus tamen illud erat.

Francus.

At timor invasit regem Danosque superbos,
Gloria Francorum dum sibi tota venit.

Normannus.

Culpatur regis pietas, quod Francigenarum
Non stravit cuneos, quos necat arcta sitis.
O si turba recens Danûm cum rege volasset,
Horrida quam strages tingeret arva soli!

Francus.

Tingeret. At Franci poscebant nil nisi bellum,
Ipsa sitis fuerat Danicus ille cruor.

Normannus.

Why did not the French attack Pacy if they desired to fight?

Cur non Paceium cinxit, si bella volebat?
Namque Medunta prope, planus et ipse locus.
Sterneret hic acies Danorum Francica virtus;
Sanguine profuso, cederet ipsa sitis.

Francus.

Danorum terras intravit bellica virtus
Francigenum, belli spes sibi sola quidem.

Normannus.

Regis avus bello Francos regemque fugavit,
Flandrensis fugit consul et ipse simul.
Cum Ludovico repetebat jura paterna,
Flandria cum Francis hic tremefacta fuit.

Francus.

Bellorum casu nunc is nunc ille fugatur,
Vivere quæ servat nobilis illa fuga.

Normannus.

Coram Francigenis, Flandrensibus inclyta virtus
Perstitit, haud casu, sed probitate sui.
Jure pari metuunt a Danis nunc superari,
Quos feritas armat, cum sibi tanta manus.

Francus.

Franci nec numero superantur nec probitate ;
Normannis numerus stat probitasque minor.

Normannus.

fo. 141. [S]i numero superat, numerus numeretur ab ense,
Detrahat ut probitas quæ probitate tument.
Cum decies quinos Tideus solus superavit,
Pandit quod numerus sit probitate minor.

Francus.

Militiæ probitas Francorum fortis et audax
Exstitit, id notum semper ubique fuit.

Normannus.

Quid notum? quibus? at sibimet. Rollo quid in armis?
Quæ tulit? aut primum Neustria cujus erat?
Hanc quotiens repetunt, fortes victique recedunt,
Ut timidus Danus clarior ense micet.

Francus.

Quidquid prætendat Normannus, quidquid anhelet,
At Francis minor est nobilitate, manu.

Normannus.

Exul is a Troja quem Tyndaris ipsa fugavit,
Præferet ha! Danis et genus atque manum.

Huic genus a Troja succensa, depopulata,
Dacia, terra potens, hos tulit hosque dedit.
Huic manus alta quidem, major sed Danus in armis
Quidquid habet Francus[1] abstulit, idque tenet.

Francus.

Iste tenet summo tamen hoc sudore, labore,
At cum deliciis Francus ubique manet.

Normannus.

In thalamis vivat: Danis sudorque laborque!
Virtus vi capitur, desidiaque ruit.
Armis assuetus, levius fert pondera belli,
Deliciis mollis protinus arma fugit.
Gloria Rollonis num major quam labor ipse?
Calmontis labor hic gloria perpes erit.

Francus.

Ussit quod castrum, quod paucos depulit armis,
Angligenum regi gloria parva fuit.

Normannus.

The French sallying from Chaumont were beaten back. They could not prevent the burning of the place.

Immo maxima, nam procerum vis Francigenarum
Exilit e castro, sicque fugata redit.
Castrenses nequeunt castro succurrere: flammis
Uritur, ac hostes depopulantur opes.
Hic Francus vacuas sine muris comparet ædes,
Nam collata duo certius ipsa nitent.
Castrum divitiis præclarum, mœnibus, arce,
Plenum militia, nobilitate, ruit.

Francus.

Impietas hæc, non probitas; Danus sceleratus,
Walensis zabulus, rex sine mente fuit,

---

[1] *Francis*, MS.

Nil Francus meruit, sed nec rex religiosus,
Ut sua sic vastet, destruat ille ferus.

Normannus.

Rex ferus Anglorum, nulli probitate secundus,
Ut pacem pariat, talia bella gerit.
Complanare viam natis desiderat armis,
Obvia cuncta teret, robora cæsa ruent.
Regnantis catulos timet, horret Francica virtus,
Ne diadema sibi quærere cæde velint.
Primitus id tentat quod conterat ora leonis,
Ut catuli parvi jam sine patre ruant.
Nam quis vi propria superaret quinque leones?
Cum sibi par feritas, par genus atque vigor.
fo. 141 *b.* Hinc rex Angligenum, dux hinc Normannigenarum,
Andegavis consul belliger inde sedet;
Hinc consul Britonum, cum consule Pictaviensi,
Undique Francorum mœnia clausa tenent.
Sic leo cum catulis Francorum diruat urbes,
Talibus ac tantis sunt duo regna parum.
Perlegat et memoret Francus Normannigenarum
Gesta, quibus virtus Danica clara micat.
Se Normannigenis tunc sentiet esse minorem,
Ac proprii metuet perdere jura throni.

Cap. XVII.

Quod post hæc Henricus rex contra quosdam Britonum principes sibi rebelles cum valida manu pergti.

R. de Monte, vi. 516.

Henry quells a rebellion in Brittany (Sept. 1167).

Interea Britonum quosdam rex Anglicus armis
Appetit, et domitos in sua stare jubet.
Dumque moratur ibi, terit hostes, opprimit, arcet,
Diffugiunt Britones per vada perque nemus.

Arturi dapifer, Rollandus,[1] consul et idem
  Tunc Britonum, regi dirigit ista suo.

Cap. XVIII.

Epistola Rollandi, cujusdam comitis Britonum, ad Arturum olim Britanniæ regem missa, qui tunc apud antipodes degebat, insinuans quod Henricus Angliæ rex terras ejus invaserat, quare vel ipse in auxilium suorum veniret, vel legiones armatus citius transmitteret.

Letter of Roland [of Dinan?] asking king Arthur to return or send an army.

" Arturo regi trino Rollandus.[1] In armis
  " Efferus Henricus pellit ad arma tuos.
" Providus ergo tuis, quorum tu solus haberis
  " Et rex et dominus, auxiliare cito.
" Aut per te venias, aut mittas huc legiones,
  " Aut juveni manda bella necemque. Vale."
Hæc legit Arturus, frendet, furit, æstuat ira,
  Rollandoque suo scripta remittit ita:

Cap. XIX.

Epistola Arturi ad prædictum Rollandum. Et quod super his cum toto exercitu suo apud antipodes Arturus colloquium habuit.

Letter of king Arthur to Roland.

" Arturus Rollando. Magnus ventus in auras
  " Solvitur, et renuit tollere flabra diu.
" Impetus Henrici mihi notus, nil timeatur;
  " Audiet a Rodomo tristia: mater obit.

Let the Bretons not fear, Henry

" Cloto colum, Lachesis filum tenet, attrahit,
    " occat
  " Atropos, et vitam deserit illa quidem.

---

[1] Perhaps Roland de Dinan, whose castle of Becherel Henry subsequently took, and whose lands he likewise devastated. See R. de Monte (Pertz, vi. 517).

" Desinet hic Britones, nec quibit ferre dolorem,
" Nam nihil in mundo carius extat ei.
" Attamen huic nostros apices mihi mittere dig-
" num,
" Ut sciat Arturum, deserat atque meos.
" Si vero juvenis tantus despexerit ista,
" Lucius ut sensit, perferet iste. Vale."
Hinc vocat Arturus socios, regique superbo,
Ut Britones linquat, mandat et ista legat.

will have tidings of his mother's death and will desist.

Arthur will nevertheless write to Henry.

Cap. XX.

Epistola Arturi regis Britonum ad Henricum regem Anglorum, in qua bellum ei indicit, nisi Britanniam reliquerit, ubi commemorat quod rex Britonum, rex Anglorum, rex Francorum fuerit; ubi etiam bellum describit quod contra Lucium Hiberium[1] *Romanum principem et totum Italiæ exercitum in Francia gessit, eumdem Lucium peremit; deinde contra Modredum nepotem suum, qui Angliam invaserat, aliud bellum habuit in quo ipsum interfecit, ibique vulneratus sit; sed herbis fatalibus perunctus adhuc vivit.*

" Arturus magnus, fatorum lege perennis,
" Henrico juveni, quod meruisse putat.
" Naturalis habet probitas animusque virilis
" Ut prius indicat prœlia, deinde gerat.
" Dedignatur enim prosternere more latronum,
" Quorum stat sceleris fraude necare dolo.
" Provocat, ostentat pro viribus arma, cohortes,
" Quæ sibi bellica vis; pacificare[2] studet.
" Talis Alexandri virtus, et Cæsaris ardor,
" Usus et iste mihi semper ad arma fuit.
" Conflictus varios habui, laudisque triumphos
" Viribus armatis semper ubique tuli.

Letter of king Arthur to Henry II.

Declarations of war should precede attacks.

---

[1] Thus MS. with Breton authority Alfred of Beverley wrote *Hiberus*.

[2] *palificare* (sic), MS.

His glory eclipsed the fame of all previous rulers.

" Substravi Britones armis, Anglosque subegi, *fo.* 142.
" Francorum domui turgida colla jugo.
" Sic triplicis regni diademata tunc tria gessi
" Solus, in his terris par mihi nemo fuit.
" Frustra te jactas opibus, virtute vel armis,
" Hos super excello, quos simul orbis habet.
" Non mihi magnus rex Assyrius æquiparetur,
" Primus qui populos subdidit ense sibi.
" Sed nec Chaldaicus Judaica mœnia sternens,
" Plebes tam validas pellere sede valens.
" Nec Macedo, mundi dominus,[1] quem solque sororque
" Arboris infusi lumine jure canunt.[2]
" Nec radians armis, quem primum pertulit Anglus,
" Romulidum virtus ingeniique decus.
" Nec pius hic cujus genuit Colecestria matrem,[3]
" Abluit a lepra quem sacer ille latex.
" Nec decus ille ducum, qui solus Francigenarum
" Arces Romuleas subdidit ense sibi.
" Nec tuus hic Rollo, domuit qui Francica colla,
" Nec dux Angligenum qui diadema capit.
" Horum quis virtute sua reges superavit
" Tot tantosque simul quot mea sola manus ?
" Gallica regna mihi subjeci : Roma furore
" Concutitur, mandat bella nefanda, neces.
" Ut sibi restituam terras hortatur, ab Anglis
" Tunc sub jure meo dura tributa petit.

---

[1] *dominum*, MS.

[2] As to the oracular reply of the trees to Alexander, Cardinal Mai refers to Julius Valerius (" *Res* " *Gestæ Alexandri Macedonis* " *translatæ ex Æsopo Græco* "), ed. Mai, *Auct. Class.* T. vii. Lib. iii. § 25 : " Oriente sole marem " illam arborem . . . loquacem " fieri, et consultantibus tertio re- " spondere. Idem vero nocturnis " horis atque lunaribus arborem " feminam," &c. There are other mediæval histories of Alexander from which the allusions here and below may have been derived, as the Cardinal says, but Valerius is probably the author used by Étienne de Rouen.

[3] The empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great.

" Quæ duo contemnens, verbis brevibus duo mando :
" Romam nec timeo, debeo nilque sibi.
" Responso tali furit arduus ille senatus,
" Imperiumque suum deperiisse gemit.
" Lucius Hiberius,[1] consul præclarus in armis,
" Eligitur, vires Romuleæque simul.
" Romulidis ducibus tot vel tantis aciebus
" Præparat ex arvis[2] quicquid ad arma satis.
" Cum sibi subjectis terris Romania tota
" Convenit, armorum Cæsaris ipsa memor.
" Hanc sequitur mundus, ceu torrens turbidus, Alpes
" Transvolat, Arturum vis galeata petit.
" Græcia, vis, sensus, decus omne philosophiæ,
" Cum ducibus, cuneis, tota superba venit.
" Linguarum mater, properat Babylonica virtus,
" Nescit quid sibimet barbarus ille sonet.
" Sic Ægyptus adest, olim fons astrologiæ,
" Nec videt in stellis tristia bella sibi.
" Media, cum Persis, magicas non consulit artes,
" Ut casus varios ante notare queat.
" Africa, Jugurthæ bellis famosa, dolosos
" Dirigit huc Numidas, nec sibi fraude pares.
" Libya cum Syris, Hispania, Parthia, Creta
" Conveniunt, magnis viribus arma parant.
fo. 142 *b.* " Bithyniæ virtus, simul ipsa Bœotia tota
" Cum Phrygiis tentat tradere cuncta neci.
" Gentibus his tantis tam fortibus associatis,
" Regum quisque suam dirigit, arcet, habet.
" Ne tibi mendosus videar, relegens mea gesta,
" Horum cum populis nomina scripta vides.
" Bis septem fuerant, aberat sed Spiritus ille
" Qui pacata regit pacificosque facit.

The assembling of the forces of the South against Arthur.

[1] See note 1, p. 697.

[2] *Exarium*, MS.

"Arturum properant propriis constringere loris.
"Sed licium Sanson[1] rumpit, et inde furit.
"Quid moror? Arturus cum mundo prœliaturus
"Per mare per syrtes advolat, arma parat.
"Hunc sequitur Britonum rutilans exercitus armis;
"Nobilis Anglorum juncta phalanga venit.
"Walia pone subit, ruit hinc Hibernia tota,
"Gens utraque nitens tunc feritate pari.
"Scotica sic virtus, simul et Norwegia tellus
"Congerit armatos, nec probitate minor.
"Gallia prædives, gens Saxoniæ violenta,
"Dacia Northmannis clara, repente ruunt.
"His fretus cuneis regum comitumque catervis,
"Hostibus Arturus præparat arma, neces.
"Augustidunum veniens, exercitus alter
"Horrida castra locat, Lucius ipse simul.
"Arturus mandat propriis discedere terris
"Romulidas: si non, bella cruenta ciet.
"Lucius audaces Britones pedibusque fugaces
"Asserit, arma suis viribus esse minas.
"Audiit Arturus; præclaras ipse phalanges
"Ordinat, ac hostis castra locata petit.
"Occupat hinc vallem, qua transitus est legionum.
"Per medias acies hic[2] sibi restat iter.
"Aut via Romanis jam ferro facta patescat,
"Aut eadem vallis larga sepulcra dabit.
"Lucius Arturum cognoscens præripuisse
"Valles, hinc metuit, consulit inde duces.
"Hostilis numerus Romanis sit licet impar,
"Arturi probitas omnibus horror erat.
"Dissuadent bellum tum reges tumque cohortes,
"Romani referunt id scelus esse fugæ.
"Se bellis doctos, numero, virtute priores,
"Paucos et stolidos stragibus esse datos.

Arthur assembles his forces from Britain, Gaul, Saxony, and the North.

[1] St. Samson, bishop of Dol.

[2] *his*, MS.

“ Crastina lux oritur, Romanos gloria belli,
“ At Britones patriæ jus feritasque tenet.
“ Insonat hinc tellus clamoribus, inde phalanges
“ Concurrunt, ruit hæc, ensibus illa furit.
“ Cautius armatas acies rex ipse locarat,
“ Ordine confuso Lucius ipse venit.
“ Bello consumpto magna sub parte diei,
“ Innumeras strages horrida vallis habet. The battle between Arthur and Lucius Hiberius.
“ Partim jam cæsis, partim fessis aciebus,
“ Junguntur Britones Romuleusque furor.
fo. 143. “ Hinc orientalis virtus, simul imperialis,
“ Gloria Romulidum consociata venit.
“ Occiduæ gentis feritas, Britonesque superbi
“ Stant hinc, Cornubiæ vatis aperque simul.[1]
“ Partibus alterutris furit hostis, comprimit, arcet,
“ Obruit, impellit, qui probitate viget.
“ In reges, proceres, descendit bellicus ardor.
“ Quæ fuit hic rabies, mens memorare fugit.
“ Hic jam non peditum sed regum maxima virtus
“ Sternitur et sternit, dum fugit ipsa fugat.
“ Jusserat in latebris fore de legionibus unam
“ Rex ferus, ut sociis afforet ipsa recens.
“ Elevat Arturus signum; tunc ipsa repente
“ Advolat, ut cavea prosilit ipse leo.
“ Claudiocestrensis consul, dux agminis hujus,
“ Collibus elapsus, fulminis instar adest.
“ A tergo venit is, nam vultus torserat in se[2]
“ Rex. Oritur, cædes[3] jam miseranda satis.
“ Cum Gallis Britones concludunt ense phalanges
“ Romuleas; proceres undique cæde ruunt.
“ Fulminat Arturus, Britonum furit ardor et ira,
“ Obstat Romulidum vis procerumque manus.
“ Horrida bellorum facies, cruor undique manat,
“ Corpora dissectis artubus alta jacent.

---

[1] “Aper etenim Cornubiæ suc-“ cursum præstabit,” Merlin.

[2] Thus in MS.

[3] *sedes*, MS.

" Cladibus his tantis jam parcere rex cupiebat,
" Sed furit horrendus Lucius ense, manu.
" Hunc[1] igitur virtus regalis cingit et urget,
" Cum ducibus propriis sævit et ipse magis.
" Sic Macedo stagnum dum cingit, turba leonum[2]
" In gladios, hastas, irruit atque ruit,
" Quem Britonum virtus gladio superare nequibat,
" Transforat hunc hasta, sic ruit ille leo.
" Romani fugiunt, reges proceresque fugantur,
" Hos magis ipse dolor quam metus ille fugat.
" Prostrati corpus proceres utrique laborant
" Ut rapiant; at rex prævalet idque tenet.
" Diffugiunt alii tum per castella, per urbes,
" Hos saltus retinet, hos vada cæca necant.
" Separat Arturus sociorum corpora cæsa,
" Sarcophagis donat per sacra deinde loca.
" Cetera per campos tumulari jussit, honori
" Romulidum clemens consulit, immo suo.
" Præcipit afferri tunc corpus principis, illud
" Romulidis mittit, mandat et ista simul.
" 'Arturus Romæ. Petiisti, sume tributum,[3]

Arthur sends the body of Lucius Hiberius to Rome as his tribute.

" 'Immo tributa, tuis præmia digna minis.
" 'Arturum superare cupis, sed te superavit.
" 'Accipe quæ mitto, nobile corpus habes.
" 'Cetera terra tegit, numerabis quot sibi desint.
" 'Nam meus hos mucro dinumerare nequit.
" 'Te Constantinus possedit, mater et ejus;
" 'Protulit hos ambos Anglia nostra potens.
" 'Hos imitans, armis Anglorum jura reposco, *fo.* 142 *b.*
" 'Angligeni regni qui diadema gero.
" 'Si mihi subdaris patientius, ipsa valeto,
" 'Si non, horrisonis viribus arma paro.

[1] *Hinc*, MS.

[2] See Julius Valerius, III. § 19 (see note 2, p. 698), "cum subito "conspicamur . . . bestias quasdam "ad ripam stagni potus gratia con-"tendentes . . . leones supra mag-"nitudinem taurorum," &c.

[3] "Corpus quoque Lucii ad sena-"tum deferre, mandavitque non "debere aliud tributum ex Britan-"nia reddi."—Galf. Monemut.

" 'Hostibus hinc cæsis Arturus et inde fugatis,
" 'Ut Romam capiat, præparat, instat iter.'
" Perfidus ecce nepos regis Modredus, in armis
" Strenuus, Anglorum tunc diadema rapit.

The treachery of Modred.

" Huic rex reginam, regnum commiserat, altos
" Romulidum cuneos dum necat atque fugat.
" Qui commissa duo proprium jus efficit. Audit
" Arturus, tumidum [1] transvolat inde fretum.
" Excipit Arturum cum magnis viribus ille;
" Innumeris cæsis, perfidus ipse fugit.
" Nil tamen a cœpto [2] desistens, arma resumit,
" Restaurat cuneos, prœlia sæva movet.
" Advolat Arturus, legiones ordinat; audax
" Modredus simili cum feritate venit.
" Cum sexagenis hic millibus arma capessit,
" Ut patruus major vi numeroque fuit.
" Devorat hic hostes aper audax Cornubiensis;
" Fusis innumeris, perfidus ille ruit.
" Se patruo noscit sic traditor ille minorem;
" Principe prostrato, perfida turba fugit.
" Rex Constantino cognato sceptra relinquit,
" Modredi geminos depulit iste ferus.[3]
" Saucius Arturus petit herbas inde sororis,
" Avallonis eas insula sacra tenet.
" Suscipit hic fratrem Morganis nympha perennis,[4]
" Curat, alit, refovet, perpetuumque facit.

Arthur passes to Avallon to the care of his sister, the nymph Morgana.

" Traditur antipodum sibi jus; fatatus, inermis,
" Belliger assistit, prœlia nulla timet.
" Sic hemispherium regit inferius, nitet armis,
" Altera pars mundi dimidiata sibi.

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[1] *tumidus*, MS.

[2] *Accepto*, MS.

[3] The author here follows Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[4] This is a variation of the Arthurian legend from Breton sources. According to Geoffrey, Arthur's sister Anna was married to Lot of Londonesia. He nowhere refers either to Morgan le Fay, to Arthur's life "apud Antipodes," or to the possibility of his return.

"Hoc nec Alexandri potuit, nec Cæsaris ardor,
"Ut superum tellus sic sua jura ferat.
"Antipodes hujus fatalia jura tremiscunt;
"Inferior mundus subditus extat ei.
"Evolat ad superos, quandoque recurrit ad ima;
"Ut sua jura petunt, degit ubique potens.
"Quis fuit Arturus vel quis sit, cernis. At ista
"Non jactando loquor, sed tibi pando sacra.
"Plenius hæc qui scire cupit, mea gesta revolvat,
"Quæ Monemutensis vera loquendo canit:

Arthur refers Henry to Geoffrey of Monmouth and [Nennius] for a further account of his deeds.

"Dinumerat mea bella liber Gildæ sapientis[1]
"Cum duodena refert, maxima sola notat.
"Quot mea sola manus prostraverit in duodeno,
"Non mea, sed Gildæ lucida verba sonant:
"Ter decies deni, ter centum, ter duodeni,
"Centies et bini, quatuor adde simul.
"Impetus hos unus Arturi misit ad Orcum,
"In bello timidis fabula talis erit.
"Prœlia priscorum numera, lege, cerne, recense; *fo.* 144.
"Quod tua sint ludus, protinus ipse vides.
"Regum[2] Francigenum cum regibus Angligenarum
"Splendida bella scio, risus at inde meis.
"Nunc igitur mando, Britonum castella relinque.
"Respuit alterius gens mea ferre jugum.

Threatens to return with an army if Henry does not cease to molest the Bretons.

"Nuper ab antipodum pro te tellure recessi,
"Per Cycladas veniens prœlia multa tuli.
"Indos cum Parthis, itiner[3] nostrum prohibentes,
"In campis Arabum fudimus, hosque tegunt.
"Nam fatata cohors, at impenetrabilis armis,
"Quælibet obtruncat, pervia cuncta facit.

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[1] Nennius, not Gildas, is intended.

[2] *Regnum*, MS.

[3] The author ventures on this (Cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 5, 2, 72) as the accusative, and on *iteris* (line 1286) as the genitive on still more archaic authority.

"Sic ferus Æacides, si corporis inviolata
"Pars sibi quoque foret, degeret ipse diu.
"En mea classis adest, sed classis tota perennis
"Littoribus notis appulit, arma gerit.
"Quod mea jura tenes simul et rex Francigenarum,
"Hoc innatus amor fert pietasque mea.
"Id quare patiar, tam longo tempore farer?
"Sed mihi nota quidem cœlica fata vetant.
"Bellis antipodum pacatis atque sopitis,
"Apparebo ferus, orbis et ipse fremet.
"Mundanæ molis tunc nobis climata cedent,
"Imperium nostrum terra subacta tremet.
"Ne tamen id videas, te jussis supprime nostris,
"Ut tibi vel natis regna quieta sinam.
"Ipse quidem silvas, fessas refovens legiones,
"Incolo Cornubiæ, proxima castra loco.
"Si mea jussa times et amas, et pronus obedis,
"Jam valeas; si non, nuntio bella tibi."

Cap. XXI.

Quod rex Henricus epistolam Arturi coram proceribus suis in silva Britonum legi fecerit, quidque de ea dixerit.

Henry reads the letter of Arthur before his nobles.

Rex Anglus legit hæc, Britonum quem silva tenebat.
Subridens sociis, nil pavefactus, ait:
"Magnus Alexander Darii dum scire laborat[1]
"Quæ vis, quæ probitas, ut peregrinus abit.
"Obviat hinc regi rex pauper solus: at ille
"Quærit, Alexander si sibi notus erat?

[1] Again we have a story which could have been drawn from Julius Valerius, II. § 26. See note 2 on p. 698.

" 'Est mihi notus,' ait rex, 'audax, clarus in " 'armis,
" 'Idem philosophus ac probitatis apex.'
" Porrigit hinc apices proprios plenosque mina- " rum;
" Mandat ut ille ferus rura paterna petat.
" Orat Alexandro deferri; jurat et ille
" Ipsius in manibus scripta futura fore.
" Hinc socios repetit pauper peregrinus et hostis,
" Solvitur in risum tunc proceresque sui.
" Ordinat hinc acies, bellorum jure peritus,
" Tota quibus tellus pæne subacta fuit.
" Indicit bellum Dario, multisque peremptis,
" Per silvas Darius dum fugit, ense ruit.
" Arturi Darium præsens feritas imitatur,
" Nos terrere cupit carmine necne minis.
" Romulidas stravit, nec possumus inficiari, *fo.* 144 *b.*
" Inque locis istis par sibi nemo fuit.
" Rex Britonum, rex Anglus erat, rex Francicus " idem,
" Scimus plura quidem subdita regna sibi.
" Antipodum sibi jura favent, fessæ legionis
" Corpora nunc refovet, castra propinqua locat.
" In silvis Darius percussus morte sopitur,
" Is forsan simili jure perire cupit.
" Lazarus ille necis subiit bis jura tremenda,
" Ni sibi fata darent, posset et iste mori.
" Ut Britones linquam, quos dant Normannica " jura
" Mandat; si renuo, bella parantur, ait.
" Ne se contemni reputet, nunc scripta remittam,
" Mitior is forsan vi rationis erit."

Cap. XXII.

Epistola ejusdem Henrici regis ad eumdem Arturum, quodque Britanniam sub ejus imperio tenere velit.

King Henry's reply to Arthur.

" Arturo magno, fatorum lege perenni,
" Henricus juvenis, cum feritate modum.
" Actus cum verbis moderari, dum sapientis
" Sit proprium, nostrum pignus id esse volo.
" Nobilis Arturi probitas laudatur ubique:
" Novi quod fuerit fulgur ad arma potens.
" Hunc, cum vivat adhuc fato, qui provocat armis
" Perdet jura throni, corruet ille simul.
" Comperit hoc dudum, Romani gloria regni;
" Lucius Arturi tristia bella tulit.
" Talia bella ferat qui pacis fœdera vitat,
" Nostrum velle manet, nolleque semper idem.
" Neustria Rollonis fuit, atque Britannia tota;
" Has a Francigenis fœdere pacis habet.

Henry claims Brittany as Rollo's successor.

" Heres juris ego gemini; quod jure reposco,
" Dat genus et ratio, lex favet, immo jubet.
" Ut linquam Britones mandas iratus; at ira
" Fit furor insipiens, dum ratione caret.
" Gens tua ferre jugum cavet, at Normannigenarum
" Pertulit et perfert hoc graviusque feret.

The death, however, of the empress and respect for king Arthur decide him to yield for the moment. He offers to hold Brittany under the suzerainty of Arthur.

" Qui contra stimulum pugnat, bis pungitur ille,
" Quod vitat patitur, durius illud habet.
" Fama volat, Mathildis obit, lux imperialis,
" Unicus hujus ego; fata tulere duos.
" En quia mandasti, quia confert fama dolorem,
" Ut tuus fert animus, amodo cedo tuis.
" Cedo sed ad tempus; nam tota Britannica tellus
" Tum mihi tum natis est referenda meis.
" Hanc sub jure tuo, sub pace tua teneamus;
" Jus tibi, pax nobis, totaque terra simul.
" Hæc quia concedis, valeat tua vita perennis,
" Nam mea sub Christi jure perennis erit."

Cap. XXIII.

De nuntio mortis imperatricis, matris regis, quodque tunc Arturo rex obtemperans a Britannia recesserit.[1]

Death of the empress Maud.

A monk of Bec well known to Henry is despatched with the tidings, and is rewarded with a staff.

Interea Mathildis obit, regique repente
  Beccensis monachus[2] mittitur, exit, abit.
Is regi notus, tum carus tumque fidelis,
  Hinc magis est iteris[3] dulcior ipse labor.
Nec tamen hic cassus; baculo, dulcedine pleno, fo. 145.
  Ditatur rediens, at monachilis erat.
Dulcior at multo quam pontificalis habetur,
  Hic et ille simul consepelitur eis.
Si bene quid meruit, datur huic sceptrum probitatis;
  Si male, de proprio verbera dura feret.
Corpore nudatus, pastorum spiritus exit,
  Hujus judicium ferrea virga regit.

The king's deep grief.

Intimat hinc regi monachus quod mater obisset.
  Ultra credibilem flet, gemit, ille modum.
Nec mirum; sibi nil in mundo carius ipsa,
  Nam diadema dedit, mater et ejus erat.
Testatus pater hinc, ut matrem semper amaret
  Jussit, obediret consiliisque suis.

His filial obedience to the empress.

Hinc memor, imperio matris tria subdidit iste,
  Se, proprius actus, imperiumque simul.
Jam duo conqueritur, quod vim sibi consiliorum,
  Pro se pauperibus munera multa dabat.
Consilio proprio datur is; nam, matre remota,
  Anchora ceu navim, deserit illa virum.
Militiæ studiis pressus, stipendia multis
  Distribuit; pastor pauperis esse nequit.

[1] Here occur the words: *Explicunt capitula libri secundi. Incipiunt capitula libri tertii.*

[2] As Dr. Pauli remarks, this is almost certainly the author himself.

[3] *Iteris*, thus in MS., with some archaic authority. See l. 1195.

LIBER TERTIUS.

INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS.

Cap. I.

De Mathildis imperatricis obitu, quodque anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXVII. *apud Rothomagum defuncta sit, decima die mensis Septembris, die dominica, tertia ipsius diei*[1] *hora, Henrico rege* [*fo.*111.]* *ejusdem** *filio tunc in Britannia morante; quodque antea ut apud Beccum tumularetur eidem concessit, idque olim, de partu Gaufridi filii sui infirmata, apud Rothomagum a patre impetraverat.*[2]

The empress died A.D. 1167.

Anno milleno, ter bino, tum simul uno,
Sedecies deno,[3] magna Mathildis obit.
Stella die solis rapitur sub sole diei :
Sol verus simili surgit in orbe die.
Rectius hanc solem quam stellam forte vocarem,
Nam similis soli quisque futurus erit.
Solum sola regens natum, binisque carebat
Quos solos habuit, quos dedit ipsa solo.
Tertia solis erat, cum tali parte diei
Spiritus ille venit, spiritus hujus abit.
Decalogi jussum tenuit tum mente vel actu,
Septembris decima cessit et ipsa die.
Cumque dies Phœbus cum Virgine bis duodenos
Splenduit, æternum cœpit habere diem.
Justitiæ solem videat cum Virgine sacra,
Sic et apostolicum propheticumque chorum.

She died at the third hour of the day on Sunday the 10th of September.

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[1] *die*, MS.

[2] *impetraverit*, MS.

[3] The MS. reads, *sex decies deno* by the interlineation, perhaps by the annotator, of the letter *x*.

Infirmata diu, paulatim deficiebat,
  Subtrahitur vitæ vividus ille vigor.

She died worn with age and fevers.

Corpus, tum senio tum febribus attenuatum,
  Spiritus ut linquit, claustra beata petit.
Ex meritis credi licet hoc, nam semper egenos
  Fovit, et ecclesiis munera multa dedit.
Hujus præ cunctis beneficia larga recensent
  Beccenses monachi, cujus et ossa tenent.

Her love for the monks of Bec.

Ut natos proprios hos solos semper amavit,
  Unus ut ex illis sic erat inter eos.

Her illness after the birth of Geoffrey, and her request then in case of death to be buried at Bec.

Gaufridum pariens, premitur valitudine forti;[1] R. de Monte, vi. 491.
  Primus et in natis hic moriturus erat.
Dissolvi metuens, Becco petiit sepeliri,
  Tunc Rodomi degens annuit ista pater.
Quæ Becco dederit tunc temporis enumerabo,
  Carmine finito,[2] singula vera loquar.
Submectam breviter post mortem quæ dedit ejus
  Ipsius ex rebus filius ipse suus.

Her gifts to the church.

Quæ vero monachis aut ecclesiæ faciendæ
  Contulit in censu, noscere nemo potest.

Her long residence at the monastery of S. M. des Prés.

Hinc igitur natus postquam diademate fulsit.
  Cum Becci monachis vivere dulce fuit.
Pluribus hac lustris Pratensis cella refulsit;
  Prati flos moritur, stella serena ruit.

---

[1] The information here is from R. de Monte: the remainder of the chapter is principally from the same source.

[2] *Scilicet in fine hujus libri, ubi in prosa enumerantur, sed prius ponitur quædam prophetia Merlini de seniore Henrico et juniore etc.*, M. These gifts are detailed on *fo.* 159 of the MS., and the list is printed on pp. 758–760.

Cap. II.

De situ ecclesiæ prioratus[1] Prati et loci ipsius ubi defuncta fuit, et de laude ipsius imperatricis, quodque rex eidem dixerit, ut apud Beccum sepeliretur; quodque Beccum delata ab archiepiscopo Rothomagensi Rotrodo et Arnulfo Lexoviensi episcopo, pluribusque abbatibus et proceribus, tradita sit sepulturæ positaque honorifice sub corona ante majus altare ecclesiæ.

Situation of the monastery of Notre-Dame-des-Prés.

Stat Rodomum juxta locus hic, qui nomine Prati
Censetur, monachis congruus ipse satis.
Meridiem spectat, septentrionalis in urbem
Flat Boreas, flumen dirimit ista duo.
Alluit hinc Pratum crescentis fluminis unda,
Nominis inde sui vim locus ipse trahit.

Henry I. founded it as a cell to Bec.

Nobilis hic cellam structuræ condit, adornat
Henricus senior, ditat honore pari.
Hic Becci monachos degentes semper amavit,
Auxit divitiis, prædia plura dedit.

Near the same place he built a magnificent palace which he occupied when at Rouen.

Sumptibus ex propriis proprias hic construit ædes,
Incolit has, Rodomum cum venit, ipse leo.
Splendidus iste locus rebus vel religione,
Silvis ac fluvio, portubus, urbe, situ.
Silva propinqua manens parcum demittit in amnem,
Urbis in obtutu[2] floridus ipse micat.
Hunceque feris variis rex præsens nobilitavit,
Huic partem nemoris consociare libet.
Ejus in extremis, regalis qua via transit,
Hujus regis opus, regia clara nitet.
Sit qualis paries prospexit quisque viator,
At varios vultus interiora latent.

The paintings and ornamentation of the palace.

Regia picta nitet, auro testudo refulget,
Inscius artis adest, obstupefactus abit.

---

[1] *prioratus*, interlined by the annotator. | [2] *obtutus*, MS.

Hanc juxta Pratum residet, quo flos mulierum,
Flos patriæ nostræ, clara Mathildis obit.
Flore suo Pratum vacuatur, floris odorem
Tellus nostra sapit, spirat ubique novus.
Magnus floris odor: quod conjunx imperialis,

The greatness of the empress more due to her character than to her station.

Filia quod regis, regia mater erat.
Major: quod prudens, quod religionis amatrix,
Quod fons consilii cum pietate fuit;
Quod refovens inopes, monachorum quod pia mater,
Perfugium miseris, pacis amica simul.[1]
Maximus: in studiis dum vivit talibus exit; *fo.* 146.
Ut pia vita fuit, finis et ipse bonus.
Ipsa, prius nævum pandens quem contulit ævum,
Linquens cuncta soli, transit ad alta poli.[2]
Floris odor, quod magna, potens quod religiosa,
Quod vitæ pia mors consociata fuit.
Hac igitur tali tam clara morte sopita,

The clergy and people attend her funeral.

Urbis præsul adest, clerus et ipse simul.
Assunt abbates, proceres, populique caterva
Confluit, exequiis omnis habetur honos.

In the previous year at her request Henry chose a place for her burial. He named Bec: she said it was not a royal burial place. Henry's reply. She thereupon gave assent.

Anno præterito gravis hanc valetudo gravavit;
Eligat ut tumuli jus sibi natus, ait.
Is Beccum memorat, sepeliri quo cupit olim,
Hunc fore regalem denegat illa locum.
"Solus regalis locus est polus," intulit ille,
"Gloria nec tumuli membra beata facit."
O verbum dignum prolatum regis ab ore!
Culmine regali regia digna fides!
Sollicitus curat quo spiritus hujus abiret,
Assiduæque precis providet ipse locum.
Ut ratione capax vim perspicit ipsa loquentis,
Dat monachis caris corporis ossa sui.

---

[1] Cardinal Mai wrongly supposes a lacuna here in the MS.

[2] The author breaks into a Leonine couplet.

Virginis eximiæ clara sepelitur in aula,
Hac rutilat Becci splendidus ipse locus.[1]
Altaris facies pro corporis imperialis
Fulget honore, parem percipit illa vicem.
Sed superexcellit collatus splendor honoris,
Hic sibi sit quantus spiritus ipse sapit.
Quidquid ibi sancti, quicquid consistit honesti,
Hujus erit meritum, dum polus ima petit.
Tradidit hanc tumulo Rotrodus, tunc Rodomensis
Præsul, et abbatum conflua turba simul.
Affuit Arnulfus antistes Lexoviensis,
Ingenii virtus eloquiique nitor:
Præterea clerus, proceres, cœtus popularis,
Grexque pius fratrum, quos sibi junxit amor.

Rotrou archbishop of Rouen and Arnulf of Lisieux, with the monks of Bec, are present at the grave.

Permanet in terris hinc gloria tanta sepulcri,
Major et in cœlis gloria perpes ei.
At pretii magni stat desuper ampla corona,
Jure coronatam clara corona tegit.

The *corona lucis* above her grave.

Candelabri radiis septenis, lampadibusque
Cum totidem, tumuli condecoratur honos.
Septiformis inest animæ jam Spiritus ille,
Jam radios veri luminis ipsa videt.
Christi pura caro, sanguis tractatur ad aram,
Quæ tumulo coram mystica semper adest;
Visque sacrificii divini transit in illam;
Id meruit, cujus munere digna fides.

She lies before the altar.

Obtulit ecclesiæ se totam Virginis almæ,
Corpus habens, animam diluit ipsa prece.
fo. 116 *b.* Diluit et Christi vivacis sanguinis unda,
Unda sibi præsens, tergere cuncta potens.
Quis numeret quotiens celebrabitur Hostia vitæ,
Vel celebratur ibi, cujus et ipsa comes?

---

[1] Hoveden, i. 253, is thus in error when he says, "Matilda . . . sepulta "est apud *Rothomagum* in abbatia "quæ dicitur Sancta Maria de "Pratis." She lived, however, and died there.

Haurit quotidie cœlestis dona cruoris,
Ut purgata diu mundior astra petat.
Cum monachis caris radianti carne resurget,
Quorum jam meritis associata manet.
Sicque stola gemina, dono redimita perenni,
Juncta Deo vitæ, vita perennis erit.
Gloria sit qualis cœli vel quanta videbit,
Quid Deus aut quid sit angelus aut quid homo.
Quæ causæ rerum, vel mundi quæ sit origo,
Quam natura potens, quam variata manet.
Angelus aut homo quid peccarunt, curve creati,
Post mundum quid erit, cur Deus extat homo.

Cap. III.

Quod eodem anno obitus ejus tria signa in cœlo visa sint: nam mense Martio cometa in Gallia resplenduit; mense deinde Julio circulus æthereus circa solem maximus apparuit; mense postea Septembris, media nocte, luna tota sanguinea diutius visa est, regibus post Pascha præteritum a se invicem jam discordantibus.

Three portents were seen in the year in which the empress died: in March a comet, in July a circle round the sun, and in September the moon appeared red.

Anno quo moritur tria signa stupenda coruscant,
Portentum superum, sed latet istud adhuc.
Parisius juxta metuenda cometa refulsit,
Martius hanc fudit, belliger ipse deus.
Circulus æthereus solem circa radiavit
Maximus, hunc mensis Cæsaris ipse dedit. Chron. Beccense, 654.
Nocte sub umbrifera monstratur luna cruenta,
Septimus a Martis turbine mensis erat.[1]
Horum perspexi medium, multis sociatis:
Cetera bina ferunt cum gravitate viri,

[1] The preceding lines seem to be a versification of a passage in the *Chron. Beccense* (Migne, Patr. Cur. Comp. 150, 654).

Tum monachi plures, tum clerus Parisiensis,
  Quorum nota fides religioque manet.
Hæc tria quid signent, scit rerum pervigil Auctor,
  Nam genus humanum cuncta futura latent,
Bella, fames, pestes, tempestatesque futuras,
  Principis aut mortem talia signa canunt,
Sive novi regis præcellentis diadema,
  Præsulis insignis vel speciale decus.
Hæc diversa quidem, non unum sed tria signant,
  Quæ tamen hæc extent dicere nemo valet.
Jura novi regni forsan canit ipsa cometes,
  Luna rubens belli tristia fata refert.
Solaris cyclus, alicujus splendor honoris
  Cœlitus emissus, qui sit in orbe novus.
Hæc sic conjicio, nam talia sæpe relegi;
  Quæ tamen ista tegant, posteriora docent.
Cœlica signa latent, donec videantur in actu,
  Actus habet quidnam significare velint.
Præteritis signis succedunt significata;
  Cur micuit signum, res patefacta monet.

The comet may portend a new king; the blood hue of the moon, war; the solar circle, some celestial visitation.

Ut reor, instat in his præsens discordia[1] regum;
  Sed quis erit rerum terminus, ecce latet.
Ut retuli, September habet cum morte Mathildem,
  Pascha sequens cernit tela parare, faces.
147. Conveniunt iterum tum reges Francus et Anglus,
  Tum proceres, clerus, militiaeque vigor.
Ut sibi subdatur, rex ut sibi serviat Anglus
  More patris, Francus rex petit, immo jubet.

The author thinks that the present differences between the two kings are denoted.

In Sept. the empress died, and the Easter [of

[1] This expression, together with the words, "*Pascha sequens cernit* "*tela parare*" (*l.* 174), settles two points of some importance: (i.) that this portion of the poem was composed about April 1168, Easter in that year being at the end of March; and (ii.) that the date, February 1168, in the heading to Cap. XVI. of Lib. III. is merely a clerical error for February 1169. The peace there alluded to was arranged, according to R. de Monte (Pertz, vi. p. 518), on 6 Jan. 1169, and the author here (*l.* 172) says he does not, in or about April 1168, know what will be the issue of the strife.

1168] sees preparations for war.

Denegat ille ferus ulli se subdere regum,
Impar nec cuneis par diadema nitet.
Regum colloquium tali finitur in ira,
Militiæ virtus confluit, arma capit.
Francorum probitas consueto more minatur,
Dux Normannigenum ferrea claustra facit.
Armatis cuneis cingit castella vel urbes,
Has penetrare parans; Francia clausa gemit.
Nam pax turpis ei, Normannica nec superare
Castra valet, feritas permanet ipsa ducis.
Fœdera velle sui fient, nec serviet ulli;
Exerat en Francus quicquid ubique valet.

Cap. IV.

De adventu nunciorum imperatoris Alemanniæ in Normanniam, Saxoniæ scilicet duce,[1] ejusdem imperatoris nepote generoque regis Angliæ, cum duobus episcopis et comitatu multo. Quodque imperator regi mandaverit, ne cum rege Francorum, nisi ad honorem suum fœdus pacis iniret: auxilium suum, ex quo mandaret, paratum sibi omnino sciret: proque filia ejus, quam prædicto duci nepoti suo in conjugium dederat, maximas gratias reddidit; quidque rex eisdem nunciis responderit.

The emperor Frederick I. sends his nephew, the duke of Saxony, on an embassy to Henry, A.D. 1168.

Dirigit interea proceres princeps Alamannus
Angligenum regi pontificesque suos.[2]
Hos dux Saxoniæ ducit, dux splendidus armis,
Terris, divitiis, milite, mente, manu.
Principis isque nepos tanti, nitor imperialis
Culminis; ast alius non minor ejus honor.

[1] *duce, nepote*, &c., thus in MS.

[2] The word *interea* in this couplet (the last date mentioned (*l.* 174) being Easter 1168) shows that the author places this embassy in 1168. R. de Monte (Pertz, *Scriptores*, vi. p. 517) agrees.

Nam gener is[1] regis : natam[2] sibi copulat hujus, He is the king's son-in-law.
Connubio[3] tanto clarior ecce micat.
Duxerat hanc comitum majestas pontificumque,
Cum quantis opibus dicere nullus habet.
Aurum quis numeret, argenti copia quanta;
Vasorum species mens memorare nequit.
Quam varii generis, pretii, quot regia virgo
Ornamenta tulit, scribere nemo valet.
Gloria regalis cum sponsæ tanta fuisset,
Saxonicus sponsus splendet honore pari.
Virgo duci sociata nitet facieque decora,
Nobilis hæc animo, sic patre, matre, viro.
Hanc gens Saxoniæ dominam se gaudet habere,
Illustrat patriam splendida stella suam.
Plus patriæ confert fulgoris, laudis, honoris,
Quam sibi Saxonici culminis altus honos.
Hæc alti generis, speciosa, futuraque mater,
Hoc triplici nexu nectit amore virum.
Dux igitur tantus, transmissus ab imperiali
Culmine, quo regem cerneret, ecce venit.
Milite vallatur multo, proceres comitantur; The count of Flanders grants him a passage and receives him honourably.
Nolit sive velit, Flandria præstat iter.
Attamen hunc consul Flandrensis ducit, honorat,
Per proprias terras, regis amore quidem.
Suscipit hunc, belli fomes, Normannica tellus
Conjugis ob meritum, fœdera pacis habet.
Obviat huic Anglorum rex, simul oscula libat,
Affuit Angligeni gloria multa throni.

[1] The MS. reads *generis*. Dr. Pauli (" The Academy " Vol. III., p. 336, 1st Sept. 1872), is mistaken in saying this chapter refers to " the embassy sent by the " emperor Frederick I. (1165), the " betrothal of Henry the Lion," &c. Duke Henry is here probably, and in l. 225 definitely, referred to as already the king's son in-law.

[2] *Nomine Matildem. Hæc filia Henrici* II. *regis Angliæ, nupta fuit Henrico, duci Saxoniæ et Bavariæ ; ex quorum matrimonio natus fuit Otho, qui fuit imperator*, M.

[3] *Conubio*, MS.

King Henry treats him, as his daughter's husband and as imperial ambassador, with especial honour.

Huic, quia vir natæ, legatus et imperialis *fo.* 147 *b.*
 Principis atque nepos, solvitur omnis honos,
Agminibusque suis defertur quidquid honoris,
 Urbibus hos infert rex procerumque chorus.
Hos secum retinens, ut honorus honorat honoros,
 Dignus honorari, dignior ipse throno.
Hos socios ducit tum per castella, per urbes,
 Hique stupent regis gloria quanta manet.

Duke Henry presents gifts and the imperial demands. The emperor charges king Henry not to resume the position of vassal to the French crown. If the king wishes he will himself come with an army and dethrone Louis, who is the heir of Hugh Capet, not of Charlemagne.

Hinc regi pandit dux imperialia jussa,
 Munera tunc profert, ardua scripta simul.
Mandat ne regi Francorum subiciatur,
 Cum sibi par virtus, par honor atque thronus :
Non par at major, patrios si jure triumphos
 Inspicit, ac proprii culmina tanta throni.
Fœdera si pacis ineat, conservet honorem
 Tum sibi tum natis consulibusque suis.
Imperium natis nitatur pacificare,
 Desidis est regis subdere colla jugo.
Si jubet, armatas validas mittet legiones
 Ditatas opibus, prœlia ferre scias.
Si mavult, isdem veniet simul imperialis
 Gloria, sic regem pellet ab arce throni.
Hugonis fuit hic, Karoli non ipsius heres,
 Heredes Karoli depulit ille dolo.
Ejus progenies regni pellatur ab arce ;
 Ut sibi par ratio, jus sibi constet idem.
Translatum regnum transferri jure valebit ;
 Bellica vis tollat quod tulit ipse dolus.
Ecclesiam turbans, populi vastator et ustor,
 Nec sibi nec regno proficit, immo nocet.

Frederick asserts himself as rightful heir of Charlemagne.

Regis nomen habet, reges non destruat[1] ergo :
 Destructor patriæ sedis ab arce ruat.
Heredem Karoli se fatur, Francigenarum
 Viribus imperii quærit habere thronum.
Jus Karoli jus ejus erit, perquiret ubique
 Quod lex, quod ratio, quod sibi jura dabunt.

---

[1] *regnis non destruit*, MS.

Angligeni regis natum diademate Franco
Donabit, thronus hic nobilis hujus erit,
Rem tantam peraget vis regis et imperialis,
Hoc sua fata volunt, idque cometa canit.
Indolis egregiæ juvenis, probitasque futurus,
Francigenum regno cum patre jura dabit.
Ut pax in terris sub regum sorte duorum
Floreat, is pater est, filius isque patris.
Nominibus solis naturæ jura notantur,
Arctius his vinclum non habet ipsa sibi.
Nata pro regis, regali proque sorore,
Imperii munus reddet utrisque novum.
Natam regis habet, qui regis natus habetur,
Heredes duo sunt, sunt duo regna sibi.
fo. 148. Præterea grates reddit quod filia tanti
Principis est tanto consociata duci.
In patruum transit quidquid fit jure nepoti,
Est patrui totus ipse nepotis honos.
Lætatur regis tanti præventus amore,
Cum sibi sufficiat reddere posse vicem.
Si tempus dederit, referet par pignus amoris,
Nec minor accipiens quam fuit ipse dator.
Firmus amicitiæ trames, nec morte tenorem
Perdit, et in vita fidus ubique manet.
In regem tantum vis imperialis amoris
Talis erit, factis idque probare licet.
Cum duce Saxoniæ proceres transmittit, ut ipsi
Regis velle sciant consiliique modum.
Imperii virtus ad regis velle parata,
Principe cum proprio, si jubet, ecce venit.
Francorum regnum sic armis pacificabit,
Ut securus iter quisque viator eat;
Ut nova jura novi regis cum pace noventur,
Prœlia sedentur, sit novus ipse thronus.
His hilaris factus rex infert: "Imperialis
"Est mihi gratus amor, utilis isque meis.

He offers to grant France to Henry's heir.

Expresses satisfaction at the family alliance subsisting between himself and Henry.

Repeats his offer to come personally in arms.

King Henry's reply to Frederick. His gratitude for the good-will shown to him.

" Gratus nam cunctis et regi constat honorus;
" Utilis in bellis fortis adesse potest.
" Contra Francigenas tumidos quod prœlia man-
" dat,
" Principis affectus, is mihi nempe placet.
" Colla superborum reprimantur, pacificentur
" Tum plebs tum proceres imperiumque simul.
" At Normannigenum sibi sufficit ardua virtus,
" Audax Francigenum prœlia nulla timet.

The forces of Normandy, Brittany, &c., with those of England, suffice against the French.

" Quidquid ad arma potest Francorum vis galeata
" Monstravit, rediit, jam sua rura fovet,
" Dacia sola fuit, Francorum mœnia stravit,
" Horum tunc patriæ pars sibi magna datur.
" Nunc sociis Anglis, quos dudum subdidit armis,
" Non minor at major viribus, ense, viget.
" Quid Britones memorem, Pictavos, Andegavenses,
" Quos sibi consocians, Neustria clara nitet?
" Francigenum feritas his frustra bella minatur:
" Copia verborum stat sibi, visque minor.
" Angligeni regis tot terras tollere virtus
" Nulla valet, frustra Francia tela parat.
" Nec Normannigenum capiet castella vel urbes,
" Nec sibi rex Anglus serviet. Ecce dolor!
" Pax sibi nulla manet, vi pacis fœdus honestum,
" Gloria Normannis sit proprioque duci.
" Quod princeps tantus mandat diadema daturum
" Se nostro juveni, gaudeo, spesque manet.
" Vis cœli valet hoc, vis regis et imperialis,
" Nam transferre thronum diva statuta solent.
" Quod grates solvit quia regia virgo nepoti *fo.* 148 *b.*

Recognises the honour which Frederick's gratitude pays him.

" Juncta suo fulget, fit mihi magnus honos:
" Connubio natæ mihi jungitur imperialis
" Gloria, bellica vis, hostibus ipse timor.
" Quæ tria tum mihi tum natis sunt splendor
" honoris,
" Tum proprio regno consulibusque meis.

Henry's confidence in the issue of the struggle.

"Velle meum pax firma meis; mihi tradita jura
"Defendam patria vi propriaque manu.
"Principis adventus, horrendus cæde futurus,
"Quod mando foveat tempus ad usque suum.
"Regum consilium præceps virtute carebit,
"Consilii magni res manet ipsa diu.

Has a secret design in answer to the schemes of king Louis.

"Mens mea quid gestet, sileo; tamen imperiali
"Cordi cordis erunt omnia nota mei.
"Hostis molitur mihi, natis tollere sceptrum.
"Molior ast aliquid; quid sit id, ecce latet."

Cap. V.

Quod dux et episcopi regem admirantes, post colloquium cum maximis honoribus Rothomagum a rege mittuntur. Rex paulo post eos insecutus eisdem consilium suum intimavit, magnoque honore exhilaratos, muneribus ditatos, inter quæ vasa aurea et argentea præclari operis et magni pretii multa eisdem contulit; sicque ad imperatorem, consilio suo eis nudato, lætos remisit.

His rex prolatis, mirantur dux proceresque
Sensum, verba, modum, consiliumque viri,
Quantas fundat opes, quam multo milite fulget,
Nobilitas quanti culminis extet ei.

Duke Henry is led to Rouen, and is lodged in the palace.

Hinc Rodomum veniens dux regia tecta subintrat,
Egregiique loci traditur aula sibi.
Regis id hospitium,[1] patulus quod lucus adumbrat,
Flumine cum pratis, nobilis urbe, situ,
Interius radians auro, varioque colore
Oblectans animos, visibus aula placet.

A second conference takes place between the king and the

Chron. Beccense, 654.

Redditur interea Rodomo præsentia regis,
Dux Alamannus adest, colloquiumque serunt.
Adsunt pontifices bini, quos imperialis
Gloria transmisit, regia verba notant.

[1] See the description of this palace Lib. III. *ll.* 51–64.

duke and two bishops. Henry reveals his plans for the emperor's information.

Quid velit his pandit, denudat consiliorum
  Jura, modum, summam, nil tacet ipse tribus.
Quæ secreto refert, hæc imperialibus ipsi
  Auribus infundant, cuncta notentur ei.
Dux sociique sui, ditati munere multo,
  In patriam redeunt, regia jussa ferunt,

Cap. VI.

*De papa defuncto, post quem duo apud Romam in loco ipsius a diversis partibus cum schismate eliguntur, Rollandus scilicet cancellarius et Otovianus cardinalis, sicque per violentiam contra totius ecclesiæ unitatem et pacem, contra jus canonicum, contra * Petri dignitatem in cujus sede non est recipiendus nisi unus, ambo in Roma consecrantur; quodque olim simile schisma contigerit,[1] unusque tunc illorum duorum schismaticorum a Rogero duce Apuliæ[2] et Siciliæ receptus eumdem ducem in regem sacravit; quodque Rollandus, qui jam Alexander[3] dicebatur, legatos suos in Galliam miserit, a regibus et episcopis receptus sit, legatos secutus in Galliam venerit. Alter qui prius Otovianus, post Victor dictus est, ab ecclesia transmarina et tota Italia receptus erat,[4] in Alemanniam venit.* [fo. 111 b.]*

The ancient frowardness of Rome.

Constat ab antiquo quod Roma tumentia colla
  Semper habet, Remi prodit ut ipse cruor.
Bellorum nutrix peperit sibi prœlia, reges
  Hos proprios stravit, tradidit hosque fugæ.
Binos sæpe duces hujus discordia fecit,
  Qui sibi, qui mundo bella necesque gerant.
Tempore sic nostro, sub tantis regibus istis,
  Exit ab antiquis sedibus ipse tumor.

---

[1] *contingerit,* MS.
[2] *Apuleie,* MS.
[3] The annotator interlines iij.
[4] Thus in MS.

Ipsum consequitur præsens dissensio regum,
Hujus ceu fuerit Roma superba caput.
Nam clerum, populos dum pacis jura tenerent,
Schismatis initium fit prior ipsa suis.
Cessit Apostolicus fatis, pandensque tumorem
Pontifices binos procreat ipsa sibi.
Antiqui nævum retinens elata tumoris,
Nec sibi nec populis providet, immo nocet.
fo. 149. Olim sic orbis dominatum perdidit ipsa,
Vix sibi jam vivit, linquitur ecce sibi.
Schismate consimili turpavit climata mundi,
Cum prius Apuliæ dux diadema tulit.
A duce Rogero tunc alter papa receptus,[1]
Quo sibi dux faveat, hunc prius ipse sacrat.
Sic papæ gemini fabricantur tempore nostro,
Turpius in terris schisma fuisse nequit.
Victor, Rollandus, sub Petri sede locantur,
Hi duo divisi, Petrus at unus erat.
Unum vel nullum Petri tenet ipsa cathedra,
Nam tumidos binos arcta tenere nequit.
Respuit ipsa duos, unus nam sufficit orbi;
Respuat hos orbis, unus ut esse queat.
Binos nulla polis recipit, nisi turgida Roma,
Talis in exemplo qualis et ipsa latet.
Fratribus ex geminis quod traxit semper habebit;
Discors Roma fuit, semper et illud erit.
Horum quos retuli, papa migrante, secundus
Eligitur, summum respuit ille gradum.[2]
Traditur hinc alii jus pontificalis honoris;
Suscipit hic fasces, alter ad ista dolet.

The Romans elect two popes after the death of Adrian IV.

Victor (Octavian) and Roland are chosen by factions (7 Sept. 1159).

One was elected but refused the office, which was then given to another.

[1] *Scilicet Petrus Leonis scismaticus, qui Rogerum comitem Sciciliæ, nepotem Roberti Guischardi, sacravit in regem Siciliæ, cum ipsius partem foveret,* M.

[2] Baronius, xix. p. 131, quoting from a MS. in the Vatican, says, "electum suum Alexandrum fugientem, excusantem, insuper et "omnino reluctantem papali manto, "Deo favente, induerunt." From other documents given by Baronius it appears that Victor's party claimed 9 cardinals as against 14 for Alexander. Only four sign the account of Victor's consecration. Two of these joined his party after the election.

He who was first chosen now seeks that which he then rejected.

Per se perque suos repetit quod respuit ante,
Eligit hunc iterum pars violenta sibi;
Hoc sine cæde tamen, nam pars utraque, superba
Quamvis erat, metuit bella movere pari.
Romulidum sensus sic pacis fœdera turbat,
Proh dolor! initium schismatis inde venit.
Præsulibus binis mutantur nomina prisca,
Ut mos Romulidum sorsque sacrata dedit.

Roland becomes Alexander, Octavian takes the name of Victor.

Nomen Alexandri Rollandus possidet; alter
Victoris: gemino nomine quisque nitet.
Interea mittit legatos præsul uterque,
Orbis regna sibi subdere quisque cupit.
Jam duo non unus disponunt culmina Petri;
Heres unus erit; si duo, Petrus abest.

The Italians, with the eastern emperor and the rulers of Jerusalem, Germany, Saxony, and Denmark, accept Victor.

Italiæ partes sibi vindicat Otovianus,
Ex geminis præsul extitit iste prior.
Hunc per legatos princeps Constantinopolitanus
Suscipit, et tellus subdita tota sibi.
Rexque sacri tumuli custos,[1] cum milite sacro,
Plebibus adjunctis, servit, obedit ei.
Cum clero, populis, favet huic[2] princeps Alamannus
Dux quoque Saxoniæ, Dacia tota simul.

The kings of France and England would have accepted him if Alexander's faction had not anticipated him. William of Pavia persuades the English

Francus et Anglus ei reges cum plebe favissent,[3]
Noscere si possent[4] ordinis ante modum.
Sed per legatos proprios hos prævenit alter,
Legistrisque favent rhetoricisque tubis.
Nam simul hi veniunt cum regibus, altus et ipse
Clerus adest, populi conflua turba venit:
Hinc Papiæ geniti Willelmi lingua perorat *fo.* 149 *b.*
Causam, qui fluvius eloquiique nitor.
Arte vel ingenio reges circumvenit, omnes
Vi linguæ superans in sua vota trahit.

---

[1] The king advised neutrality, but the majority of the council at Nazareth in 1160 condemned Octavian.

[2] *hinc*, MS.

[3] *Contrarium tamen effectus rei probavit; nam Alexander fuit verus papa, et alter reputatus est scismaticus*, M.

[4] *posset*, MS.

Primus Apostolicum Rollandum nominat altus
Francigenum clerus, rex procerumque chorus.
Cui tanti cedunt, cedit rex Angligenarum,
Cedunt et comites pontificesque sui.
Suscipitur clarus Rollandus papa, secundus
Victor respuitur, sit licet ipse prior.
Schismaticique duo terrarum regna capessunt,
Quod lex, quod ratio, quod Deus ipse vetat.
Hic successores jam perspicis imperiales
Pompeii similes Cæsaris atque feri.
Ecclesiæ monstrum geminum caput extulit orbi,
Hoc fugiens vitet vivere quisque cupit.
Consensu facili multis illabitur error,
Nam radice fides frivola sæpe caret.
Defuit alloquio regum præsul Rodomensis
Hugo, vir sapiens, religione potens.
Quæ super his Romæ fuerat dissensio novit,
Quis prior electus sive sacratus erat.
Reges causatur tanta levitate favisse
Romulidis, rerum dum latet ipse modus.
Ex his schismaticis nam se deponeret alter,
Ecclesiæ virtus si repulisset eos,
Hinc et Apostolici discordia prava sileret,
Sic proprii sceleris esset et ipsa memor.
Italia pulsus Rollandus transvolat Alpes,
Quo via tuta fuit, Gallica regna venit.
A clero, populis, et regibus ille receptus,
Discernit, statuit, solvit, et ultro ligat.
Est notum multis Romanos semper avaros [1];
Manat ab antiquo criminis ipsa nota.
Nobilis historicus manet inde Sallustius index,
Naturæ generis testis hic ipse sui.
Relliquias igitur Albini necne Rufini [2]
Quærere Roma venit, colligit, urget eas.
Legatos mittit, dispersas cogit in unum,
Ut tantas rapiat, fit sibi nulla quies.

and French to accept Alexander.

Hugh archbishop of Rouen, who knew the truth, was absent from the council.

Alexander driven from Italy passes the Alps into France.

He eagerly collects money.

---

[1] Sallust, *Jugurtha*, c. 81.

[2] The annotator interlines: *id est argenti, id est auri.*

Victor proceeds to Germany. The Germans knew that Victor had taken what Alexander at first refused. This was unknown to the kings of England and France.

Alter Apostolicus res gestas audiit hujus,
Romam deserit hic Italicumque solum:
Alpibus emensis, petit hinc Alamannica rura,
Stipatus sociis rhetoricisque viris.
Suscipit hunc princeps Alamannus et imperialis
Gloria, tum proceres, clerus et ipse simul.
His notum fuerat quod primitus iste sacratus,
Primus obedivit, dignior unde manet,
Nam post suscepit quod primum respuit alter;
Id latuit Gallos Angligenasque[1] duces.

Cap. VII.

Epistola Victoris papæ ad Alexandrum papam.

Victor's letter to Alexander.

Victor præterea Rollando mandat: "Inanes
"Pontificis fastus te subiisse vides.
"Post me Romani jus raptum pontificatus,
"Non jus, immo nefas, omnibus esse liquet.
"Cum sociis sceleris per vim conscendere tentas
"Culmen Apostolicum, stultus at iste labor.
"Sponsam tu Christi perverso schismate turbas,
"Dividis in binas; una sed ipsa manet.

He charges Alexander with being the origin of the schism.

"Proh dolor! initium tu schismatis esse notaris,
"Qui pacis fueras hactenus ipse juge
"Romani scriptor juris, custosque sigilli,
"Pacis fœdus eras pluribus absque dolo.
"Rixæ pone modum, mundus nos conspicit ambos,
"Ecclesiæ parcens, parcito quæso tibi.
"Officium primus suscepi pontificalis
"Culminis; hoc nosti, novit et orbis idem.
"Usurpas igitur nomen, quod ferre nequibis:
"Convenit hoc juri. Solus id ipse fero.

Offers, if he will submit, to grant to him his former position

"Deponens ergo quod captas nomen inane,
"In pacem rediens subditus esto mihi.
"Gratia prima tibi reddetur honorque sigilli,
"Reddeturque tuus[2] pristinus ipse gradus.

---

[1] *Angligenosque*, MS. | [2] *tuis*, MS.

"Hujus consilium pacti si forte refutas,
"En aliud promam; quodlibet ipse tene.
"Ecclesiæ matris, quæ nobis subditur, ambo
"Jus subeamus, ut hinc terminus esse queat.
"Causam pertractans, ex nobis ipsa duobus
"Papam constituat, quem velit esse sibi.
"Terminus is litis, hic finis schismatis extat:
"Istud si renuis, jure fugandus eris.
"Nil vigor Anglorum regis, nil Gallicus ardor,
"Quos sibi substravit Cæsar, adesse valent.
"Horum cum sociis cupiens et fœdus et aurum,
"Prævenis hos semper callidus, arte, dolis.
"Hos in schisma tuum seductos Roma repellit,
"Sic tibi sic illis omnia jura negat.
"Seu mihi vita datur, seu mortem fata perurgent,
"Subdita non fiet maxima Roma tibi.
"Niteris Italiæ dominatum tollere Romam,
"Si potes id, princeps Itala rura sinet.
"In Roma diadema gerit princeps Alamannus,
"Hoc auferre valens, tu mihi papa manes.
"In te sed rediens, errorem quæso revolve,
"Et mihi subjectus desere cœpta doli."

as papal chancellor.

Offers as an alternative to submit the case to the Church.

Alexander cannot possess Rome without imperial consent.

Cap. VIII.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Victorem papam.

Ista legens præsul Rollandus fertur in iram;
Ostentat sociis, mandat et ista simul:
"Naturalis inest animis mortalibus ardor,
"Ut sibi subdatur quamlibet altus honos.
"Clarior ut sit homo, perquirit opes et honores,
"His sine vilior est; novit, et illa fugit.[1]
fo. 150 *b.* "Sic laudes quæris per mundi climata. Romæ
"Præsul si fueris, dives, honorus eris.
"Me prius elegit Romani cura senatus,
"Distulit ad tempus mens mea ferre gradum.

The reply of Alexander to Victor.

He was first elected but for a time put off acceptance of promotion.

[1] Thus MS., but query read *petit*.

Victor seized the opportunity and was elected by his own faction. Alexander's election was not annulled; Rome consecrated him, though he was unwilling.

" Tu super hæc audax fautorum jure tuorum
" Eligeris, Petri scandis et ipse thronum.
" In me prima manet constans electio sacra,
" Et licet invitum me sibi Roma sacrat.
" Schismate sub tali Romæ sic ambo sacrati,
" Ecclesiæ risus nos sumus, unde dolor!
" Nobile sic monstrum pestis Romana creavit,[1]
" Corpus idem geminum cœpit habere caput.
" Princeps tu sceleris, et opes cupiens et honores,
" Dum tibi Romanos subdere semper amas.
" Elatus tanti generis prætendis honorem,
" Subditur en tibi nunc imperialis honor.
" Pontificis fastus tu solus surripuisti,
" Per te scissa dolet sponsa sacrata Dei.
" Rixæ tu caput es, turbator pacis, et auctor
" Litis, et ecclesiæ scandala cuncta foves.
" Præteritos mihi necne meis promittis honores,
" Ut subdamur ei, qui sibi papa manet.

Refuses to submit to either of Victor's alternatives.

" Si non ecclesiæ subeamus jus generale,
" Hæc duo proponis, optio sicque datur.
" Dum Romanus ego præsul, dum cuncta gu- " berno,
" Quis mihi quisve meis major honoris honos?
" Orbis judicium generale subire recuso,
" Nullus enim papam subdere jure potest.
" Lex mihi nulla potest imponi, dum super " omnes
" Solus ego, judex me minor omnis erit.
" Opponis reges ut nobilitate nitentes
" Viribus atque thronis, sic et amore Dei.
" Papam Romanum, propria sic sede repulsum,
" Horum me pietas sustinet, ornat, alit,
" Aurum non cupio, contentus vestibus, esu:
" Exul[2] pro patria Gallica rura colo.
" Ne reges tantos involveret hic tuus error,
" Hos petii, caros semper habere volo.

---

[1] The MS. can be read *cæcavit*.

[2] *et* is faintly inserted here in MS., but it disturbs the metre.

"Anglos cum Gallis a schismate jure retraxi,
"Sedis Apostolicæ qui pia jura tremunt.
"Italicos fines tibi subdis, sic Alamannos,
"Imperii virtus cedit et ipsa tibi.
"Hæc auferre volens jus papam constituendi,
"Per se pontificem te sibi falso sacrat.
"Me sibi subjectum non sentiet imperialis
"Ira, nec audacis præsulis ipse tumor.
"Exul ero. Quid tunc? patriam conscendere cœli
"Pauper si potero, dives honorus ero.
"Nunc igitur veniam poscens me pronus honora,
"Ut sceleris tanti sit sibi noxa data."

Demands Victor's submission.

Cap. IX.

De concilio quod post hæc Victor papa tenuit, præsentibus episcopis, abbatibus, [et] principibus Italiæ et Alemanniæ, præsente etiam imperatore.

fo. 151.

Victor Alexandri dum verba tumentia legit,
Legistris sociis intimat illa suis:
"Fastu verborum Rollandus," ait, "superare
"Nititur, at rerum constat adesse diem.
"Sentiat elatus quod jam tumor ipse meretur,
"Amodo me papam noscat ut esse suum,"
Hunc Alamannorum Maguncia[1] tunc retinebat,
Urbs celebris regni metropolisque sui.
Sub Karolo Magno resplenduit ista sophiæ
Principibus, princeps nam fuit ille sophus.
Interea summum statuens Victor celebrare
Concilium, quis sit notificare studet.
Convocat Italiæ partes, Alamannica tellus
Confluit, insignes Saxonicique viri.
Abbates clari, simul ordo pontificalis,
Clerus adest multus, plebis et ampla phalanx.
Affuit et princeps Alamannus et Italus idem,
Jungitur huic omnis imperialis honor.

Victor assembles a council at Maintz (Pavia?).

The Italian and German bishops attend to the number of 300, with

[1] See Baronius xix.150, Newburgh, p. 119. Victor's councils were at Pavia in 1160, and Lodi in 1161. The Synod of Maintz was in 1159.

X 2

twice as many abbots.

Curia personis Romana suis reviresscit,
Schisma tamen quasdam sciderat inde sibi.
Astant personæ trecentæ pontificales,
Abbatum numerus sed duplicatus erat.
Tantis personis et tot simul associatis,
Clarior ex illis cernitur esse locus.

Victor and the archbishop of Cologne preach before the council.

Splendidus orator Romanus papa perorat
Primus, et ex Trino Numine sermo fuit.
Post Incarnati vim solvit Coloniensis
Præsul, et ingenio clarus et ore simul.
Hic Rabani magni sedem qui pontificalem
Obtinet, angelicum dividit ipse chorum.
Sic alii tractant sermones ore polito,
Causæ post resonant Romulidumque tubæ.

The council hears various causes, and last of all that respecting the schism.

Pluribus in causis consumptis ante diebus,
Ultima Rollandi causa notanda subit;
Hanc in concilio facundus papa perorat,
Attonitis cunctis Tullius alter ait:

Cap. X.

Causa quam pro schismate Victor papa in concilio tractavit.

Victor's speech before the council.

" Maxima causarum, quam totus prospicit orbis,
" Hoc in concilio discutienda venit.
" Nulla mihi gravior constat nec fortior ulla,
" Nam totum fidei continet ista modum.
" Præsens Italiæ princeps procerumque caterva,
" Pontifices summi, clerus et altus adest.
" Judicium, ratio, non fallitur ordinis hujus,
" Quod doctrina fovet, quam tenet ipsa fides.
" Hic oratores resident legisque periti,
" Tantum concilium nulla sophia latet.
" Nominis ecclesiæ Christum dominum caput esse,
" Sic caput est Christi summus et ipse Deus.
" Constat et Ecclesiam Christi fore corpus, ut unum
" Jam duo sint, sponsus sponsaque juncta simul.

fo. 151 *b.* “ Unus ut unitam sibi copulet inviolatam,
“ Virgo sponsa Dei, Virgoque sponsus ei.
“ Hæc in carne manens, in terris est peregrina,
“ Donec ad æternam transeat ipsa domum;
“ A Christo Petrus quam primus jure recepit,
“ Ut doceat, servet, nutriat atque regat:
“ Pascat eam pastu triplici, verbo, prece, factis,
“ Ut trinum recolens noverit, oret, agat.
“ Clavibus ecclesiæ ditatur Petrus ab Ipso,
“ Discretorque potens solvit et ipse ligat.
“ Discernit quis sit solvendus sive ligandus,
“ Solvere quemque potens atque ligare simul.
“ Clemens has recipit, Petri successor et heres,
“ Linquit Apostolicis has simul ipse viris.
“ Tradidit has nobis jus pontificalis honoris,
“ Jus canonum sacrum, moris et ipse vigor.
“ Sim licet indignus sedem conscendere Petri,
“ Sum tamen in tanto culmine solus ego.
“ Nam si Rollandus a sese papa vocatur,
“ Intrusor tamen est, papa nec esse potest.
“ Istum tam tumidum caput hujus schismatis esse,
“ Concilium præsens, orbis et ipse videt.
“ Culmen Apostolici sprevit prius ille laboris,
“ Tantum ne fragili[1] pectore ferret onus.
“ Nec tamen hunc clerus nec nobilis ille senatus
“ Elegit, sed amor schismatis atque dolus.
“ Me post electum sibi cleri consecrat ordo,
“ Præsens tunc populus necne senatus erat.
“ Ut mos Romanus fert papam constituendi,
“ Ut decreta jubent, sic fuit ordo rei.
“ Romulidum clerus præsens est ordinis hujus
“ Auctor, et is novit me sibi vera loqui.
“ Jam cœtus præsens id novit, noscat et orbis,
“ Schismatis ut tanti corruat ipse reus.
“ Sic in Apostolica me papa sede locato,
“ Rollandi socius jam[2] sibi quisque pavet;

Asserts that his consecration was alone regular and according to the Decretals.

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[1] *Fragilis*, MS. by alteration. | [2] *nam*, MS.

"Eligit hunc alias violentia schismatis ejus.
"Contra jus canonum suscipit ille gradum.
"Toto sic hominum Dominique timore rejecto,
"Callidus intrusor spargit ubique dolos.
"Turbat jura poli, sic orbis climata turbat,
"Turbida cuncta facit turbidus ipse magis.

Few clergy but many senators were sharers in the schism.

"Ex clero paucos, plures ex jure senatus
"Hujus participes schismatis esse scio.
"Dissimilis tamen hos spes impulit atque voluntas,
"Romulidis semper quæ solet esse comes.
"Imperiale jugum Romanos temnere semper
"Historias relegens noscere quisque potest.
"Hic residet magnus, ut cernitis, imperialis
"Princeps, semper erit subdita Roma sibi.

The Roman nobles dislike subjection to the German emperor. The rights of empire were given to Pepin by pope Stephen. The reasons of the gift.

"Romani proceres Alamannica jura tremiscunt, *fo.* 152.
"Se Karoli proli subdere constat onus.
"Insignis Stephanus Romanus præsul honorem
"Pipino dedit hunc, sic Karoloque suo.
"Hos etenim binos in reges ipse sacravit;
"Italiam duxit. Cur, breviare libet.
"Urbes Italiæ rex Langobardus adurit
"Hastulfus, Stephanus præstat ad arma minus.
"Transmeat hic Alpes, Gallos petit, invenit horum
"Regem desidiæ nexibus esse datum.

The deposition of Childeric III.: substitution of Pepin.

"Concilio facto, diademate privat inertem;
"Pipinum, Karolum, tollit in arce[1] throni.
"Principibus tantis Stephanus sibi consociatis,
"Italiam rediens maxima bella parat.

Assistance given by Pepin and Charlemagne against the Lombard kings.

"Hosque secutus erat radians exercitus omnis
"Francigenum, Latium turbida fama replet.
"Exoritur bellum Langobardique fugantur, Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg. (Pertz, ix. 400).
"In Papiam fugiens rex sua fata gemit.
"Obsidibusque datis, acceptis urbibus, illi
"Vita datur, sed post fulmine tactus obit.
"Extitit hæc Karoli Magni vis bellica prima,
"Huic quamvis fuerit vis sociata patris.

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[1] Thus MS.

"Nec minor ille fuit, cum fata patrem rapuissent,
"Sed magis enituit gloria clara viri.
"Insurgens alius rex Langobardus in armis,
"Vastat et incendit; quæ cupit, illa rapit.
"Obviat huic iterum Karolus feritate priori,
"At belli rabies undique multa furit.
"Pluribus hic cæsis Langobardisque fugatis,
"Rex Karolum fugiens quo prior ille venit.
"Obsessus capitur, captus transmittitur Alpes,
"Parisius veniens jam monachatur ibi.
"Sic Desiderius post Hastulfum superatur,
"Italiam Karolus tunc facit esse suam.
"Post hæc ingreditur Romam cum laude triumphi,
"Inclyta Romulidum vis stupefacta tremit.
"Successit Stephano, qui suscipit hunc, Adrianus;
"Imperialis ei purpura jure[1] datur.
"In Roma Karolum diademate papa coronat,
"Francigenum nulli tantus adhæsit honos.
"Francicus en princeps Alamannicus Italicusque,
"Sic tria sceptra regit, sufficit ipse tribus.
"Hujus sed soboles partitur jam tria jura:
"Hic[2] unum retinens, cessit abesse duo.
"Proles sed Karoli rex Francicus arte dolisque
"Hugonis capitur; sic perit ipse thronus.
"Est hujus generis septenus[3] Gallicus iste,
"Rollandi socius schismatis atque doli.
fo. 152 *b.* "Altera progenies Karoli, duo regna gubernans,
"Vixit in imperii culmine, vivit adhuc.
"Ex generis tanti præclaro stemmate surgit
"Maximus hic princeps, flos procerumque decus:
"Tollere jura patrum cui nititur Italiamque
"Clarus Alexander, schismate bella gerens.
"Se Porum superare putat, ceu gemmea[4] vitis
"Atque columnarum sit sibi præda data.
"Persarum Medosque duces Dariumque potentem,
"Hos superabit, et hunc transferet ense neci.

Astolfus and Desiderius being driven out, Charlemagne made Italy his own.

Pope Adrian crowns Charlemagne in Rome.

Charlemagne's descendant who held France, the third part of his empire, gave way to usurpers the seventh of whom is the supporter of Alexander; but the heir of Charlemagne still holds two kingdoms

[1] *jura*, MS.
[2] *hæc*, MS.
[3] Including Hugh (*ob.* 1026).
[4] *geminea*, MS.

and remains emperor.

" At si Rollandus Karolum superare valebit,
" Istud inauditum nec polus ipse feret.
" Sed Karoli sensum, virtutem, continet heres
" Ejus, et his binis Itala sceptra reget.
" Post caput abscissum vis corporis adnihilatur:

The empire would lose its head by the surrender of Rome, and the city will therefore be kept.

" Arboris est radix cæsa? ruina gravis.
" Si caput Italiæ Romam princeps Alamannus
" Rollando tribuit, cetera membra sinat.
" Sic radice carens jam virtus imperialis
" Corruet, arboreus defluet ille decor.
" Nolit sive velit Rollandus necne senatus,
" Progeniem Karoli subdita Roma feret.
" Hæc caput imperii nomen gerit imperiale,
" Italiæ princeps sic caput hujus erit.

The senate of Rome shared in the schism, desiring to cast off the imperial rule.

" Schismatis hujus erat consors pars ipsa senatus,
" Pellere jam cupiens imperiale jugum.
" Sed legatorum Rollandi fit dolus alter;
" Qui qualis fuerit, terminus ipse canit.
" Hujus pauper erat sociorum perfida turba,
" Hoc sibi prælato crescere sperat opes.

Alexander and his court are greedy for the wealth of France and England.

" Ut spes fixa manet, trangressis Alpibus, altas
" Francigenum gazas Angligenumque petit.
" Sic instans ovibus sociatur turba luporum,
" Pastorum tamen est obvius ipse vigor.
" Explorans igitur quis sit pastoribus error,
" Quæ via, quis somnus, callida quæque videt.
" Si cautos, fortes, sapientes, perspicit istos,
" Linquit ovile, sibi prospicit, ire cavet.
" Hos errore leves, faciles ad devia duci,
" Sive premi somno, si scit, ovile subit.
" Diripit, extinguit, laceratque, famemque sitimque
" Sanguine, carne, cibat; sic satiata redit.
" Haud aliter Gallos Rollandi turba subintrat,
" Pastores subicit primitus ipsa sibi.
" Reges hosque simul per quælibet avia ducit,
" Possidet hos somnus, devius error habet.
" Quæ sibi firma fides, ubi sensus pervigil horum
" Credere tam leviter, cum latet ordo, modus?

" Reges præclaros, rectores ecclesiarum,
" Schismatis auctores in sua vota tenent.
" Quodlibet hi fingunt, quævis mendacia suadent,
" Rhetoricis vinclis torpida corda ligant.
fo. 153. " Me subversorem cœli confundere jura
" Dicunt, ecclesiæ schismatis esse caput.
" Pro noxa reputant me principis esse propinquum,[1]
" Per vim, per gladios obtinuisse gradum.
" Me voluisse putant Alamannis tradere Romam,
" Urbs tamen est horum principis, idque sciunt.
" Papa suus sanctus, simplex ac nobilis exul
" Me fugit, armatum persequor ipse virum.
" Quod prius oblatum despexit pontificatum,
" Quod me Roma sacrat primitus, ecce silent.
" Quod libuit, suasit tunc Willelmus Papiensis,
" Legister validus causidicusque potens;
" Henricus sibi Pisanus sociatur et Otho;
" Scinditur a tribus his unica trina fides.
" Gallia sic cedit, consentit et Anglicus ordo,
" Pastores rapiunt in sua vota lupi.
" Rejicitur Victor, Rollandus papa vocatur,
" Sic fraus necne scelus arsque lupina valet.
" Hinc caulas ovium, pastoribus undique victis,
" Intrat quisque lupus, quod valet ipse rapit.
" Asciscunt socios, prædantur ovilia Christi;
" Hinc ovibus mæror, risus at inde sibi.
" Aurea vasa petunt, argentea quæque reponunt,
" Serica vestis eis plus pretiosa placet.
" Fercula non refero tantarum deliciarum,
" Pocula diversis inficiata [2] modis.
" Felix quisque sibi cum sese proluit auro;
" Vinum si superat, vir sibi quisque manet.
" Nec memorare libet fastus varios equitandi,
" Cum Romæ fuit his vix geminatus equus.

The opposite faction assert that Victor is related to the emperor, that he obtained promotion by violence, and that he would betray Rome to the Germans.

William of Pavia, Henry of Pisa, and Otho are the originators of the schism.

Alexander's extortions and luxury.

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[1] See note 1, p. 740.

[2] A confusion of form between *inficio* (or *conficio*?) and *infitior*. See also *l.* 839.

"Mulus adulterium naturæ clarior extat,
"Hunc sedet[1] huncque trahit, dum sibi sessor
"abest.
"Hos in equis cernens rectores ecclesiarum,
"Raptores ovium nuncupat atque lupos.
"Spumat equus, Gallorum gazas Alpibus infert,
"Velleribus claris totus onustus abit.
"Abstulit intrusor jam Cæsaris iste labores,
"Roma caret Gallis Angligenisque suis.
"Sic præclara duo Rollandus regna subegit, — Alexander has obtained an ascendancy over France and England.
"Ecclesiæ partes sicque tyrannus habet.
"Schismate corruptum damnat sententia Petri:
"Binos en gladios Christus adesse jubet — Luc. xxii. 38.
"Ecclesiæ. Gladius regalis furta, rapinas
"Punit, bella gerit, quæque necanda necat:
"Pontificis gladius anathemate percutit, urit,
"Cauterio sanat, morbida, fœda secat.
"Hic ferit, occidit, ligat; hic confortat et unguit;
"Exerit hic leges, hic pietate fovet.
"Arida membra secat, putrefacta resolvit et aufert,
"Ne sanies serpens vivida quæque terat.
"Membris corruptis jam tetrum sentit odorem
"Orbis, et ex isto schismate manat odor.
"Alpes transgressus, legatos jamque secutus,
"En Rollandus adest, Francia servit ei,
"Reges, pontifices, seductos jam sibi stravit, — *fo.* 153 *b.*
"Fert in schisma suum quos sociare valet.
"Huic nostros apices dignum transmittere duxi,
"Ne sibi cernatur vir bonus absque dolo.
"Sic duo propono: vel papæ se mihi subdat, — Refers to the letters and offer of submission to the judgment of the Church.
"Orbis judicium vel subeamus idem.
"Hæc duo contemnens, rescripta tumentia mittit;
"Dedignatur enim flectere colla mihi.
"Sic errore suo jam plebes inficiavit,
"Jam duo regna sibi subdidit. Unde dolor!

[1] Thus in MS. Cf. original reading of l. 1379 on p. 757.

“ Concilium præsens super hoc decernat, ut auctor
“ Schismatis, ecclesia pulsus, ab arce ruat.
“ Cum sibi subjectis anathemate percutiatur,
“ Jam gladii Petri prodeat ipse vigor.”

Cap. XI.

Quod post causam peroratam, Alexander cum omnibus qui eum receperant episcopis, abbatibus, principibus, et populis, anathematizatur.

The council decides to anathematize Alexander and his faction.

Hisque peroratis attollitur Othovianus,
Dignus Apostolico culmine papa manet.
Prædicat hunc ordo cum principe pontificalis,
Regni tum proceres conciliumque simul.
Rollandum statuunt anathemate percutiendum,
Fautoresque suos conditione pari.
Exurgunt igitur cum papa maximus ordo
Pontificum, clerus nobilis ipse simul.
Tum breviter Victor: “ Cum cancellarius esset
“ Rollandus, subiit papa secreta necis.
“ Is post eligitur, sed respuit hunc sibi Roma,
“ Me rapit atque sacrat pontificemque vocat.
“ Hinc dolor exurgit, repetit quod tempserat “ audax,
“ Fautorum studio se sacrat, immo necat.
“ Sic oritur pestis, sic orbem schismate turbat,
“ Dividit ecclesiam, pars sibi multa favet.
“ Nec mihi se subicit, nec judicium generalis
“ Ecclesiæ patitur, sed tumor instat adhuc.
“ Hunc igitur sociosque suos anathemate damnat
“ Concilium præsens, orbis et ipse simul.
“ Hos etiam [socios][1] simul excommunicat omnes,
“ Quos huic jungit amor schismatis atque “ scelus.”
Concilium tantum sub verbis solvitur istis:
Concilii tanti finis et iste fuit.

Victor pronounces sentence, and the council breaks up.

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[1] The line is defective in the MS.

Cap. XII.

De adventu Alexandri papæ in Galliam. Quodque a regibus receptus censum ab ecclesiis exegerit. Quodque Hugo Rothomagensis archiepiscopus hoc inauditum esse dixerit. Quodque ad curiam papæ Alexandri Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuariensis venerit, quidve ei Alexander pro causa, quæ inter ipsum et Anglorum regem erat, responderit.

Alexander crosses into France.

Præsul Alexander, transactis Alpibus, esse
Se referens papam, Gallica regna venit.
Quos retuli sursum, legatos regibus istis
Miserat, ut sese pro pietate ferant.
Expulsus patria, licet exul præsul habetur:
Italiam virtus imperialis habet.

He was an exile from Italy, which was under the emperor.

Hæc papam statuit, qui noscitur esse propinquus
Principis,[1] ut per eum subdita Roma tremat.
Hunc tenet, hunc pellit princeps, sed amore, sed armis:
Possidet is Romam, præsul at inde fugit.
Excipitur gaudens a tantis regibus exul,
Horum terra sibi pervia sive suis.
Regum, pontificum, cleri, collaudat amorem,
Exilium patriam conspicit esse sibi.

Alexander collects money from the domains of the French and English kings. Archbishop Hugh of Rouen denounces the conduct of the pope. Theobald

Expensis[2] igitur, quæ secum detulit, ille fo. 154.
Ecclesias statuit munera ferre sibi.
Omnibus indicit quot libras ipse requirit.
Ut censum referant mittit ubique suos.
Francos, Normannos, Pictavos, Andegavenses,
Anglos, quæque jubet ferre tributa facit..
Dedignatur in his Rodomensis maximus Hugo,
Dicit inauditum criminis esse genus.
Libera sponsa subit census, pretium generale,
Raptores patitur, quos decet esse patres.
Angligenum primas et præsul Canturiensis,
Deditus exequiis jam Theobaldus erat.

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[1] See also *ll.* 779 and 1195. Octavian de Monticello was of the family of the Counts of Frascati. He had held the post of legate in Germany.

[2] The passage *ll.* 883–93 is in a different hand.

Beccensis prior hic, post abbas extitit annis
Binis, magnanimus, dives et esse sciens.
Is matrem regis cum natis semper amavit,
Semper obedivit, subditus hisque fuit.
Hic Stephani regis natum quo jure sacraret
Cogitur, id temnit, vix fugit inde necem.
Mathildis nato conservabat diadema,
Fata trahunt illos, hunc citus ille sacrat.
Tangitur hic morbo, vitam cum corpore claudit;
Eligit hinc Thomam regius ille vigor.
Cancellarius is regalis nominis alti
Pontificis sedem suscipit atque gradum.
Præsul Alexandro cum rubro dirigit album,
Pallam tum recipit qua ferat ipse jugum.
Annis is fuerat paucis a rege secundus,
Regia dum recipit æra, reservat, habet.
Terrarum census ratione rex sibi poscit
Solvere, sed summam sufficit ille minus.
Inter utrosque diu tractatis inde querelis,
Se minus is purgans æquora sulcat, abit.
Narrat Apostolico, Senonis quem clara tenebat,
Quis sit, quæ tulerit, quæ sibi causa viæ.
Quælibet in regem clarum mendacia fingit,
Se cathedra pulsum, vix fugiisse necem.
Quod latet in fundo recitet, quod prædia regis
Detraxit, rapuit, dulcia quæque tulit.
Papa refert: "Frater, cernis quod sede repulsus
"Exilium patior, tristia bella fero.
"Nec mihi sive meis valeo nunc auxiliari,
"Et tibi quid possum, cum tua causa gravis?
"Casibus ex nostris perpendere te licuisset,
"Ut quantum deceat regia jussa feras.
"Me princeps sequitur, me depulit Otovianus:
"Exulibus qualem deferet exul opem?
"Te velut ex nihilo rex transtulit hunc ad honorem;
"Huic a te fieri debuit omnis honos.

once abbot of Bec had died (A.D. 1160).

He was always a supporter of Maud and refused to crown Eustace. On his death the king chose Thomas his chancellor, who obtained the pallium from Alexander by a bribe.

He received the revenues of the kingdom and kept back part, hence a quarrel with the king.

He goes to the pope at Sens. His complaints and his silence as to peculations.

Alexander advises submission to the king.

" Te placidum regi tanto si semper haberes, *fo.* 154 *b.*
" Donasset levius, si qua querela foret.
" At contra procerum regis quoque temnis amorem;
" Ense carens, istos te superare putas?
" Incassum sudaret homo decreta teneri
" Ecclesiæ, virtus regia cuncta terit.
" Investituram sibi vindicat ecclesiarum,
" Clerus vel monachi nil ibi juris habent.
" Ecclesiæ causas ad se transferre laborant,
" Ad laicos clerus cogitur ire viros.
" Ecclesiæ vires regum violentia fregit,
" Hos statuunt, quosdam pellere dulce sibi.
" Ergo quid nobis nisi flendo, dolendo, cavendo?
" Nunc hoc nunc aliud dissimulare licet.
" Unde tibi, frater, patienter ferre necesse est
" Exilium, nobis quod fore cernis idem.
" Nobiscum maneas, nam pacificabitur ira
" Regis, et ecclesiæ schismata tanta ruent."

Alexander advises Thomas to dissemble his opposition to the king.

Cap. XIII.

De concilio quod Alexander Remis[1] tenuit, præsentibus episcopis [et] abbatibus Franciæ et Angliæ, quodque de primatu Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et archiepiscopi Eboracensis ibi causa ventilata sit. Quodque eam Alexander terminare non valens, eos altrinsecus sedere fecerit.

Interea mediis in partibus intonat orbis,
Quod sibi concilium præsul uterque parat.
Concilii finis modus extitit Ottoviani,
Qualis præterito carmine musa canit.
Quantus Alexandri fuerit, nunc ipsa docebit,
Tempus idem vidit, qualis et iste fuit.
Orbem turbari Romano schismate tanto
Cernit Alexander, tentat adesse modum.

The council held by Alexander at Tours (May 19, 1163).

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[1] This should be *Turonibus*: see *l.* 975.

Se papam meminit, simul ecclesiastica jura
Pertractare cupit, pellere schisma novum.
Antiquos reparare status, legesque recentes
Condere Romanus præsul ubique valet.
Partibus in cunctis quod quidquam juris habebat
Mittit, pontifices quosque venire jubet.
Anglica nobilitas, undis transvecta marinis,
Advolat, argenti copia multa simul.
Curia pontificis gaudet fulgere metallis:
Albo jure rubrum carius extat ei.
Pontificum cœtus transmittit Gallica tellus,
Fastu multiplici semita quæque scatet.
Nec minus abbatum multorum pompa relucet,
Par opibus, cleri nobilitate minor.
Concilio proceres claros rex mittit uterque;
Quæ statuantur ibi, noscere quisque cupit.
Munus uterque dedit. Sunt hujus mille salutes,
Illius ex gemmis aurea cappa fuit.
Inclyta Gallorum Turonis resplenduit istis
Sideribus, papam solis ad instar habet.
Mundi nulla polis illuxit clarius unquam,
Reges si geminos ipsa vidisset ibi.
Clara ministeriis divis, hos suscipit aula;
Clarior hoc cœtu nullus in orbe fuit.[1]
fo. 155. Sedecies deni baculi stant pontificales,
Metropolitani sex simul atque duo;
Abbatum numerus centeni ter duodeni,
Sic decies septem, septies atque duo.[2]
Hinc proceres clerusque simul numeroque carentes:
Principibus tantis aula repleta micat.
Primus Alexander, Romano more politus,
Incipit, eloquium fluminis instar adest;
Dicta David pandens, sanctos quod congregat illi
Summo, multiplici verba tenore regit.
Willelmus sequitur, verbis radians, Papiensis;
Attulit is causam præsulis ante sui.

The English prelates come bringing money.

A hundred and sixty bishops, 8 archbishops, and 220 abbots are present.

Alexander, William of Pavia, and Henry of Pisa speak in order,

[1] A change of hand.

[2] Other authorities differ.

then the archbishops of Rouen and York.

Post hunc Henrici Pisani sermo coruscat,
Rhetoricis clarus floribus atque locis.
Hinc Rodomi[1] præsul loquitur, post Eboracensis,
Metropolitanis extitit iste locus.

Becket is silent.

Hic siluit Thomas antistes Canturiensis,
Ut minus edoctus verba Latina loqui.

Arnulf of Lisieux becomes irrepressibly eloquent.

Cessit Apostolicus Arnulfo Lexoviensi
Concilium verbis irradiare suis:
Sed fluvius torrens emergens fontis ab imo
Vix reprimi valuit vocibus atque manu.[2]
Pro fidei norma sic actis ante diebus,
Quis foret ostendit quilibet ore potens.
Hos post sermones causarum turba subintrat:

The question of priority between the sees of Canterbury and York is discussed.

Hic Digesta sonant, Codicis atque vigor.
Orditur causam præsul post Eboracensis;
Contra quem geritur Canturiensis adest.
A puero doctus studiis legisque peritus,
Concilio coram tres tenet inde dies.

Roger of York urges his earlier election and consecration.

Ingenio clarum se conspicit, ore politum,
Solus Apostolicus jam sibi præsul erit.
Primatem regni se judicat esse debere,
Ut prior electus necne sacratus ibi.

The similar dispute between Lanfranc and Thomas of York.

Causæ consimilis fuerat dissensio pridem,
Quam sibi Lanfrancus subdidit atque suis.
Tempserat huic subdi Thomas tunc Eboracensis,
Cum par divitiis par et honore foret.
Romulidum præsul legatos mittit ad Anglos:
Res venit in medium, discutiturque modus.
Willelmi[3] magni fuit hic præsentia regis,[4]
Anglia quem tremuit, cujus et arma tulit.

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[1] *Rodoni*, MS.

[2] Card. Mai notes that Arnulf's letter is extant, in which he says he stopped because his audience could not hear him well enough. Labbe, xxi. 1167, prints the sermon.

[3] *Wuillelmi*, MS.

[4] William of Malmesbury (*De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, Savile (1596), 117, b. 23) gives the details as to this dispute, together with the documents. Étienne de Rouen, as we know, had at hand Lanfranc's letters from which Malmesbury drew.

Affluit eloquio Thomas, panditque tenorem
Causæ rhetoricis [1] arduus ipse modis.
Gregorii dicit decretis ista teneri,
Augustinus ita suscipit acta sibi.
At Lanfrancus ad hæc respondens ora resolvit,
Italici fontis profluit unda nitens: [2]
fo. 155 *b.* " Constat Gregorium de præsulis Eboracensis
" Nil scripsisse loco, culmine, sede, gradu.
" Summus Apostolicus fuit Augustinus in Anglos,
" Insula tota sibi subdita semper erat.
" Pontifices, clerus, proceres, regesque favebant,
" Solus erat primas, subdita cuncta regens.
" Has doctor gentis nobis transmisit habenas,
" Possidet has sedes ipsius, arcet, habet.
" Has et ego canonum collato jure recepi,
" In tanti residens præsulis ecce throno.
" Integra jura mihi solventur pontificalis
" Culminis, antiquo tradita jure meis.
" His qui succedent [3] mihi nil minuetur honoris,
Transmittam fateor firma statuta sibi.
" Fallitur hic Thomas, nil attinet Eboracensi
" Quod loquitur, causam Londoniensis habet. [4]
" Isto de solo papæ rescripta leguntur,
" De quo nulla mihi quæstio mota fuit.
" Metropolis sedes hæc dudum desiit esse,
" Desiit et pallam mittere Roma sibi.
" Thomæ palla nitens est hujus causa tumoris;
" Par erit aut major, si sibi forte licet.

Thomas of York cites the decree of Gregory (at the synod of Winchester, A.D. 1070).

Lanfranc replies

Gregory spoke of London, which ceased to be a metropolitan see.

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[1] *rhetoricus*, MS.

[2] The hand changes here.

[3] *suscedent*, MS.

[4] The passage (Beda, I. xxix.) is, "Sit vero inter Lundoniensis et "Eboracensis civitatis episcopos "in posterum honoris ista dis- "tinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, "qui prius fuerit ordinatus." Lanfranc's account of what passed, as given by Malmesbury from the primate's letters (*De Gest. Pontif* Savile, 118), is "Quam scrip- "turam (*i.e.*, Bede's words given "above) cum in rem nihil facere "concordi sententia cuncti pro- "tinus definissent, pro eo quod "nec ego Londoniensis episcopus "essem . . . vertit se ad alia egena "atque infirma argumenta."

Augustine confers the right of priority on his successors.

" At sedis primæ jus permanet inviolatum,
  " Nulla superponi qualibet arte valet.
" Gentis Apostolicus sibi sedem contulit istam,
  " Augustinus in hac degere semper habet."
Ex his Lanfranci constans oratio, causam
  Obtinet, assensu conciliumque favet.
Hæc renovare volens Rogerius Eboracensis
  Turbine verborum cuncta sonare facit.

Roger of York prolongs the dispute through many days.

Se Dorobernensi Thomæ præponit ubique
  Verbis, ingenio, culmine, sede, lcco.
Causam pertractans, hanc tantis viribus auxit,
  Judicis ut papæ mens stupefacta foret.
Pluribus absumptis hæc pertractata diebus,
  Tandem fine suo clauditur, hocque modo

The pope stops the discussion, seating the disputants in similar positions so that neither shall be prejudiced. The council then considers the question of the schism.

Terminat hanc præsul Romanus; dividit ambos;
  Partibus alternis hos residere jubet.
Opponit sibimet, ne major quilibet extet,
  Sedibus æquales sunt in honore pares.
Dum sibi causa gravis voluit supponere neutrum.
  Ne præjudicium quis pateretur ibi.
Causa diu dilata venit nunc Octoviani:
  Concilii tanti finis et ipsa fuit.
Omnibus intentis in tanto pondere rerum.
  Summus Alexander papa perorat ita: –

Cap. XIV.

Causa quam pro schismate, quod inter se et Victorem papam erat, coram omni concilio Alexander tractavit.

Speech of pope Alexander.

" Juris Apostolici ratio perpendit, ut orbi
  " Provideat, causas dirimat atque regat.
" Ex tantis rebus sibi maxima quæque reservat,
  " Ut per se statuat quid velit ordo rei.
" Orbis causa gravis famam porrexit ubique,
  " Major in instanti tempore nulla fuit.

" Concilium super hoc mandavit nostra potestas,
" Paruit en nobis gloria tanta patrum.
" Grates innumeras refero sapientibus orbis,
" Cœlicus hic mecum quos sociavit amor.
fo. 146. " Gaudeo personas tot cernens pontificales,
" Quorum consilio mundus et ipse viget.
" Nulla scienda latent tot fontes philosophiæ,
" Singula vera vident, lucida cuncta sibi.
" Nos igitur, stellis tam claris irradiati,
" Limite directo cernere cuncta licet.
" Vobis id notum, Romanæ gloria laudis
" Quanta fuit, quæ vis ipsius urbis erat.
" Romulus hanc struxit, paulatim crevit ad alta,
" Climata per mundi regia signa tulit.
" Italiam sternens armis servire coëgit,
" Urbes contiguas subdidit ense sibi.
" Hos populos terrore premens, alios sibi curvans,
" Virtutis propriæ longius arma dedit.
" Sic armis, feritate, manu, bellisque superba
" Nominis invidiam sparsit ubique sui. **The rise of the Roman empire.**
" Hac virtute nitens, ad Cæsaris usque triumphos
" Clara venit, tanto clarior ipsa viro.
" Clarus hic eloquio, sensu, virtute, triumphis,
" Clarior in mundi climate nemo fuit.
" Militiæ probitas, decus orbis, luxque sophiæ,
" Regum sol radians, fulguris instar habens.
" Gallos substravit, Britones jungens Alamannis
" Sudor in his quantus ipsius acta sonant.
" Romulidum nemo tantos præsumpserat ausus,
" Quod nullus valuit, belliger unus agit.
" Is Romam rediens poscit de more triumphum,
" Urbs negat, invidiam gloria tanta tulit.
" Pompeius magnus, Scipio, totusque senatus
" Prœlia contempnit Cæsaris atque faces.
" Cæsar ut hæc audit, sensit sibi bella parari,
" Senserat id dudum, dissimulare sciens.

"Italiæ claram Ravennam pervenit urbem,
"Undique stant proceres militiæque duces.
"Magnas Italiæ post idem continet urbes,
"Pompeius simili pro feritate furit.
"Bello conflato, vincuntur Pompeiani,
"Pompeius fugiens littora tuta cupit,
"Exul Alexandri Magni contendit ad urbem,
"Sed prius occisus tristia fata subit.
"Lentulus hinc consul sub carceris ima necatur,
"Mergitur hinc Scipio, se necat ipse Cato.
"Sic cum Petreio sese rex Juba peremit,
"Cæditur Afranius Pompeiusque minor.[1]

Julius Cæsar becomes supreme, and is the originator of Rome's supremacy.

"Cæsar sic princeps effectus et urbis et orbis,
"Imperium solus cum probitate regit.
"Nascitur imperii Romani splendor ab isto,
"Romulidæ laudis Cæsar origo fuit.
"Præcellens sequitur majestas imperialis,
"Digni laude viri, vi, probitate, throno.
"Splenduit in tantis personis gloria mundi,
"In nullis aliis celsior ipsa fuit.
"Cum ducibus tantis Romam devinxerat error, *fo.* 156 *b*
"Donec in extremo tempore vita venit.
"Quæ fidei lumen toto dum spargit in orbe,
"Paulatim subicit regia colla sibi.
"Principibus victis, superatur gloria mundi,
"Religio crescit, perfidus error abit.
"Sic Lapis abscissus celso de Virginis alvo Dan. ii. 34.
"In pedibus statuam percutit, illa ruit.
"A Constantino fidei, pietatis origo

The baptism of Constantine the Great.

"Nascitur, inde fides jam generalis adest.
"Abluit hunc clarus Silvester fonte perenni,
"Huncque tumor procerum, gloria tota subit.
"Sic caput evictum dum cetera membra sequun-
"tur,
"Per mundi radiat climata vera fides.

[1] The facts alluded to in the preceding lines are derived from Cæsar, *de Bello Civili*, iii. § 102 and 104, and *Bell. Afric.* cap. 94, 95, 96.

"Ecclesiæ princeps Silvester ab imperiali
"Efficitur jussu, tunc sibi Roma datur.
"Dantur et ecclesiæ Romanæ prædia clara
"Siciliæ, quibus hæc vivere semper habet.
"Imperialis vir Byzantia mœnia tendit,
"Urbem constituit nominis ipse sui.
"Purpura cum Roma Silvestro traditur, omnis
"Orbis subditur huic, quo patet ipsa fides.
"At successores hujus, quandoque tyrannos
"Passi, vix retinent pontificale decus.
"Italiam capit is,[1] sic Romam diripit alter,
"Armis Siciliam jam facit ille suam.
"Nobilis hinc papa Stephanus, de sede repulsus,
"Auxilium quærens Gallica regna venit.
"Pipinum Karolumque sacrat, secumque reducens,
"Hastulfum superans Itala sceptra capit.
"Sic Romam recipit. Karolus post imperialis
"Romulidum princeps jam tria regna tenet.
"Italicus, Francus, Alamannicus extat in unum,
"Dum Karolus vivens hæc tria sceptra regit.
"Hujus progenies in bina sorte relicta,
"Unum, quæ tria sunt, jam facit esse duo.
"Pars etenim prolis Alamannos Italicosque
"Continet, at Francos altera jure regit.
"Hinc Alamanus[2] rex sibi vindicat imperialis
"Italiæ culmen, subdita Roma sibi est.
"En sibi subjectum Romanum pontificatum
"Esse refert, ac vi signifer urbis erit.
"Papam constituet quem vult, aliumque repellet,
"Nil populus sed nec clerus ad ista valet.
"Me sibi pontificem Romani cura senatus
"Elegit; propria sede repellor adhuc.
"Victorem statuit papam vis imperialis;
"Per varias terras en miser exul agor.
"Successor Petri sic perdit et imperiale
"Culmen, et officio nominis ecce caret.

The donation of Constantine.

The vicissitudes of the papal power.

Pope Stephen invokes Pepin and Charlemagne; the latter becomes the sovereign of Italy.

The division of Charlemagne's empire.

The emperor of Germany claims Rome, and the pontiffs are subject to him.

He sets up whom he will as pope.

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[1] *capitis*, MS.

[2] Thus in MS.

"Papa vocor, nec digna gero jam pontificali *fo.* 157.
"Culmine, nec rerum pondera ferre queo.
"Ecclesiam scissam video, conjungere scissa
"Non mea jam virtus, diva sed ipsa valet.
"In duo divisus jam deficit orbis ab imo;
"Unum si teneat, tum duo scissa ruent.

Octavian held a council which the emperor attended.

"Concilium celebrat præcellens Otovianus,
"Huic Alamannus[1] adest Italicusque nitor:
"Summus ibi princeps, cujus manet ille propinquus,
"Imperii summi gloria tota simul.

Alexander scarcely escaped with his life to France.

"Italiam linquens, horum dum tela pavesco,
"Vix mortem fugii, Gallica rura colo.[2]
"Armis persequitur me virtus imperialis,
"Me gladiis tentat scindere papa suus.
"Percutit ille tumens anathemate nos sociatos,
"Quosque videt pridem temnere schisma suum.
"Nobis solvetur benedictio pro maledicto,
"Qui benedictus erit, nunc anathema subit.
"Inque caput proprium maledictum jure relatum,
"Jure vicem reddit, quam prior ipse dedit.
"Schismaticus Victor anathemate percutiatur,
"Jungimus huic etiam quos sibi schisma refert.
"Excipitur princeps a nobis imperialis,
"Quem seduxit amor sanguinis atque dolus."

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[1] *Alamannis*, MS.

[2] *collo*, MS.

Cap. XV.

Quod causa perorata, Victor papa cum omnibus sibi faventibus, et se recipientibus, excepto imperatore, anathematizatur, sicque a duobus Apostolicis tota ecclesia excommunicatur. Quodque postea Alexandro Romam reverso, imperator cum Victore papa et exercitu suo post eum Italiam in- [fo. 112.]* *travit, plures ex Romanis rebellantes * interfecit. Alexander fugiens tandem in Siciliam cum suis sese recepit. Imperator Romam ingressus, ibique præsente Victore papa et gloria imperii tota circumstante, diademate insignitur, rebusque in pace compositis Alemanniam revertitur. Victore postea defuncto, Guido Cremonensis subrogatur: hocque obeunte, alter in loco ejus a Romanis et imperatore substituitur.*

The council anathematizes Victor.

Clarus Alexander causam concludit in istis,
Laudat concilii splendidus ordo virum.
Judicat hunc papam, sit quamvis pauper et exul,
Quæ duo virtutis laude nitere solent.
Exurgens igitur præsul cum pontificali
Ordine, sic astans concionatur item:
"Schismatis auctorem tanti sententia nostra
"Percutit, ecclesiæ qui sibi stravit oves.
"Concilium præsens anathematis Otovianum
"Judicio damnat, schismaticosque suos.
"Imperii princeps a nobis excipiatur,
"Quem super his nobis conciliare volo."

The council dissolves.

Concilium tantum finem sortitur in istis:
Pontificum cœtus dissociatus abit.
Dum sua quisque petit, plangit quod multa reliquit,
Romulidum papæ curia semper eget:

The collection of money was a secondary reason for holding it.

Argentum retinet præsul, conservat et aurum :
Concilii, reor, hæc causa secunda fuit.[1]
O rerum miseranda nimis perversio talis,
Ecclesiæ capitis dum ruit ipse status !
In duo divisus Romani splendor honoris,
Orbis jam geminum perficit esse caput.
Corpore sic uno procedunt corpora bina :
En duo, non unus amodo mundus erit.
Illius en caput est, quem subdidit Otovianus,
Noster Alexander sic caput hujus erit.
Dividit ecclesiam geminum jam schisma per orbem,
Illius aut hujus schismatis omnis erit.
Concilium binum celebratur ; præsul uterque *fo. 157 b.*
Se mutuo damnant, subdita cuncta simul.
Divisus sese nunc excommunicat orbis ;
Hujus quisquis erit sic anathema subit.
Quidquid cuique placet tanto de schismate dicat ;
Stat mihi judicium, nullius esse volo.

Alexander buys over the Romans and returns to Rome (A.D. 1165). Frederick and Victor drive him out by force. His life in danger. He betakes himself to Sicily and now dwells there.

Auro multiplici Romanis conciliatis,
Cum vario Romam munere papa redit.
Audit ut hoc princeps Alamannus et Otovianus,[2]
Italiam veniunt, bella necesque parant.
Roma fremens intrare negat, concurrit ad arma,
Egrediens pars hæc sternitur, illa fugit.
Trans Tiberim cives fugiunt, Rollandus et ipse :
Vix mortem fugit is, cive minante necem.
Siciliam sese recipit, pietate fovetur
Regis, ibi plangens crimina degit adhuc.
Mœnia cepit ovans exercitus imperialis,
Princeps subsequitur, Victor et ipse simul.

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[1] W. of Newburgh (Vol. I. p. 206) alleges a similar secondary cause in the case of the Third Lateran Council held by the same pope.

[2] This is an error. Victor died 20 April 1164, and Alexander returned to Italy in 1165.

de Monte, i. 516

Principis imponit capiti Victor diadema[1]
  Italiæ dominus solus et urbis hic est.
Italia princeps remeat jam pacificatis
  Omnibus, at Victor præsul in urbe sedet.
Guido Cremonensis Victori fata tenenti
  Succedit, validus rhetor et ore potens.
Pluribus hic annis in culmine pontificali
  Deguit, extremum claudit et iste diem.
Subrogat huic alium princeps, præsente senatu
  Qui meritis fidei lumine notus erat.
Imperia[lis honor][2] sic Itala sceptra retentat,
  Sic cap[ut imperii][2] fit sibi[3] Roma thronus.

Death of Victor [April 20 1164], and election of a second anti-pope, Paschal III., who dying [Sept. 20 1168], is succeeded by Calixtus III.

CAP. XVI.

Quod interim, dum hæc gererentur, discordia regis Anglorum cum Francorum rege nondum finita erat. Tandem inter se de pacis fœdere colloquium habent: differtur in procerum regni præsentiam. Henricus interim, Anglorum regis filius, Parisius veniens a rege Francorum et proceribus cum honore maximo suscipitur. Hinc ab utrisque regibus et regni principibus et præsulibus juxta Pisseium ad colloquium venitur, pacis fœdera firma stabiliuntur. Hæc pax facta est anno ab incarnatione Domini M°C°LX°VIII°,[4] *mense Februario mediante.*[5]

Henricus juvenis, rex maximus Angligenarum
  Cinctus adhuc multo milite semper erat.
Clauserat armatis muris castella vel urbes,
  Per sua jam nullis hostibus ire licet.
Rex Ludovicus regi contendere vitat,
  Nam superexcellit viribus, ense, manu.

Henry II had closed his dominions against his enemies.

Louis durst not attack.

[1] Victor was dead at this time. R. de Monte says that the empress was crowned in Rome by Paschal about July 1167. (Pertz, vi. 516.) Morena (Baron. xix. p. 278) says both Frederick and his wife.

[2] Blank spaces in MS.

[3] The metre shows that this should be *sibi*, not *tibi* as in MS.

[4] See note 1 on p. 717 for proof that the date should be 1169.

[5] Here follow the words: *Explicunt capitula Normannici Draconis*

Tollere Normannis pertentat jura paterna,
At rex cum cuncis obvius arva tenet.
Rex igitur bellum sibi cernit ubique parari,
Si Normannigenas vi penetrare velit:
Milite, divitiis, armis, et viribus impar
Paulatim refugit prœlia, tela, necem.
Hujus avi recolit claros cum laude triumphos,
Quos ex Francigenis detulit atque patre.
Talia volventem timor urget, gloria pulsat,
Prævalet interius hic magis, illa minus.

The French nobles begin to persuade Louis to make peace.

Collaudant proceres jam pacis jura reposci,
Militiæ virtus illius alta nimis.
Audax natura Normannus, clarus in armis,
Prœlia nulla timens, cedere sede nequit.
Pondera [1] bellorum Francus minor, ut docet ipsa
Neustria, quam Danus cum feritate tulit.
Angligeni regis terris stat Francia clausa, *fo.* 158.
Hinc timor armorum, victus at inde venit.

The duke of Saxony is leagued with Henry.

Principis et regis sociatur maxima virtus,
Hanc dux Saxoniæ jungit, amore ligat.
Hæc in pace simul sunt inspicienda, notanda,
Nam superare ducem prœlia nulla queunt.
Consilium laudat procerum, ratione notata;
Rex, regina favet, quod jubet illa stabit.
Post tantas igitur prædas, incendia, cædes,
Carmine quas tædet stringere, fœdus adest.

The kings meet, and a day is fixed for a second conference to be attended by certain nobles.

Conveniunt reges, de pacis jure loquuntur,
Pars utraque petit, quæ cupit illa placent.
Partibus his binis procerum pars parva fuisse
Dicitur, hos pacis fœdera cuncta latent.
His sine nulla potest fieri concordia regum,
Convenient alibi, paxque perennis erit.
Discedunt reges, alias de fine loquendum
Pacis constituunt, ponitur ipse dies.
Maximus interea regalis natus amorem
Francigenis pandit, Parisiusque venit.

---

[1] *pondere*, MS.

Prince Henry in the meantime goes to Paris, but his act is displeasing to the Normans.

Rex, proceres urbis, simul ecclesiasticus ordo
  Obviat, huic major gloria nulla fuit.
Normannis placuit paucis quod regia proles
  Francorum petiit dissona corda sibi.
Nam se fortunæ committere non sapientis,
  Sed sua qui fatis contulit, esse solet.
Regius hic natus, peperit quem regia mater,
  Francigenum quondam quæ diadema tulit.
Fœderis hanc aquilam rupti[1] cognominat ille
  Qui divis[2] oculis tempora longa videt.
Francus ait: "Nobis heredes hæc peperisset
  "Jam similes, primo consociata toro.
"Neustria lætatur, genito sibi sidere trino,
  "Fulgura Francigenis sidera trina dabunt.
"Dirigit hos nobis rex Anglus, ut alta doloris
  "Vis animos penetret vel timor ipse premat."

He is honourably entertained at Paris.

Hæc dum Francigenum quorumdam corda revolvunt,
  Parisius juvenem claudit, honorat, habet.
Hunc[3] licet obsequiis veneretur amore paterno,
  Se tamen in casu ponere nullus habet.

The day for the conference at Poissy arrives.

Concilii regum, clero populisque jocundus,
  Advenit ecce dies, undique turba fluit.
Pisseios campos veniunt utræque phalanges,
  Hinc Normannus adest, Francus at illa tenet.

Prince Henry attends it.

Natus adest regis, quem secum tempus ad istud
  Rex tenuit Gallus, lætus amore patris.
Fœderis inde modum, finem rex pandit uterque
  Principibus coram præsulibusque suis.

The Breton and Poictevin nobles are present.

Hinc Britones assunt, assunt et Pictavienses,
  Regibus in pacto se sociare volunt.
Est modus hic pacis: natis regalibus altis,[4]
  Ætas cum tulerit, det sua jura pater.

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[1] See p. 603, note 2.

[2] *clivis*, MS. The annotator adds "alias *divis*."

[3] *hunc—habet*, written in margin by the original hand.

[4] *Scilicet Henrico filio primogenito Henrici regis Angliæ et Margareta filia regis Francorum*, M.

The conditions of peace: Henry's sons when of age to rule provinces, and to be vassals of the French crown. The counts of St. Gilles and Poitou to appear before the French court on the question of Toulouse.

Tum Normannigenas regat is sub jure paterno,
  Tempore qui major, primus et ipse throno
Nomen avi tenet. Alter erit comes Andegavensis,
  Pictavius consul dux Acquitanus erit.
Filia regalis datur huic; Tholosa notatur,
  Miles ut hic fiet, juris et ejus erit.
Decernet super hoc Francorum curia, consul *fo. 158 b.*
  Egidii veniet, Pictaviusque comes.
Francigenum regi subjecti, jura paterna
  Hi tres jure regant, servitiumque ferant.
Dum pater id tempsit, præsens discordia venit,
  Serviat en natus, pax sibi semper erit.
Partibus ambabus tum regibus hæc placuere;
  Dulce manet cunctis pacis adesse modum.
Anglus rex igitur terrarum cedet habenas
  Natis, cum tulerit tempus et ordo rei.
Pro sibi collatis terris tunc quisque laboret,
  Subditus hinc Francis serviat ense, manu.
Interea pax firma stabit, dum tempus adultis
  Adveniet, Gallus rex simul ista feret.
Diriget et natam binis ut fratribus adsit,
  Bina soror vigeat quo magis arctus amor.
Consertis manibus rex pacem firmat uterque,
  Perpetuum fœdus amodo pacis erit.
Urbes, regna, thronum, communi jure tuentur,
  Hostibus alterius quisque paratus erit.
Postque fidem regum proceres tum fœdera jurant,
  Gaudet utraque phalanx. Finis et iste fuit.

The French king and his nobles plead for Becket.

He may return if he will act as his predecessors acted, ren-

Francorum proceres proprio cum rege precantur
  Pro Dorobernensi præsule, rexque favet.
Quod decessorum mos regi detulit Anglo
  Deferat, ac liber jam sua jura petat.
Ecclesiæ propriæ salvo sibi jure redibit
  Præsul, ait, solvet quod sibi constat honor.
Rex infert se nolle novos inducere mores,
  Id solum faciat quod sibi jure decet.

Lanfranci cathedra[1] sedet Anselmique beati,
Is proavi præsul, sic fuit alter avi.
Hos placuisse Deo virtutum culmine constat,
Regis quisque sui debita jura tulit.
Iste Deo solvat soli quod numinis extat,
Solvat et ex terris regia jura sibi.
Vota Deo reddat, regi quæ Cæsaris extant;
Quod sancti faciunt, solvere quemque licet.
Reddere jura sibi si dedignatur avita,
Exul ab Angligenis jure perennis erit.
Hoc jus, hæc ratio sibi constat, præsulis autem
Quænam sit, procerum judicet ipse chorus.
Jurat Francigenum rex sanctos Bethleemitas[2]
Quod Dorobernensis nil rationis habet.
Pontificum sedis propriæ vestigia servet,
Ac in sede sua pacificatus eat.
Quod rex Anglorum repetit, conservat et ipse,
Pontifices Galli regia jura tremunt.
Thomas conticuit, meditatur regia dicta,
Nescio quid voluit, retro redire timet.
Talem sortitur regum discordia finem:
Prædo latet, miles lugeat, arma jacent.[3]

dering what is due both to God and the king.

Becket is silent, meditating on the king's words, but fears to return.

EXPLICIT NORMANNICUS DRACO.

[1] *cathedram*, MS.

[2] The Three Kings. Their bodies were discovered at Milan in 1162, and carried to Cologne. See vol. i. pp. 115–117.

[3] *Sed non diu jacuerunt, etc.*, M.

LIBELLUM istum sumpsi ex quodam parvo antiquo libro, quem mihi concessit cum m[ansuetudine] m[agister] R . . . b[ibliothecarius]. Et erat ille liber, ut credo, de Ab[batia] de B[ecco] H[elluini].[1] [Written at the foot of *fo.* 158 *b.*]

HÆC sunt quæ imperatrix Mathildis dedit ecclesiæ Becci in ornamentis.[2] [Written on the lower half of *fo.* 159.]

Corona in primis solida ex auro et lapidibus pretiosis, qua filius imperatricis, Henricus rex, postea coronatus extitit, tanti ponderis ut duabus virgis argenteis hinc inde sustentetur, cum imperator vel rex ex ea coronatur. Per brachia vero tota dividitur, cum in thesauro reponitur; cum autem simul conjungitur, in fronte gestantis lapis magni pretii et magnitudinis, cum superposita cruce auri solidi, habetur.

Item alia parva corona aurea, qua imperator in majoribus sollemnitatibus utebatur.

Duo calices aurei, unus cum patena, de quatuor marcis et sex aureis: alter cum patena de tribus marcis et dimidia et tribus unciis.

Una crux de auro et lapidibus preciosis, de septem marcis auri, octo aureis minus.

Pes aureus crucis de duabus marcis et una uncia et decem aureis.

Duo textus aurei mirabilis operis, cum multis et magnis lapidibus preciosis.

Duo thuribula argentea deaurata, unum de sex marcis et una uncia et decem denariis. Aliud de quinque marcis et una uncia et duodecim denariis.

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[1] The interpretation of the four letters, "*m. m. R. b.*," and of the two in the next line "*b. h.*" is of course wholly conjectural. The sign which has been read as the numeral 9 by M. Delisle, and which Card. Maï omits, is plainly the common sign for *cum*. It occurs many times in the list of ornaments, which is written by the same hand.

[2] This list is referred to in the poem itself, Lib. III. *l.* 32, as about to be subjoined by the author to his work.

Una acerra argentea ad incensum, cum cochleari, de una marca et dimidia et una uncia.

Una scutella aurea de sex marcis et dimidia et duabus unciis.

Una busta aurea ad eucharistiam.

Una busta argentea ad oblatas de una marca et tribus unciis et octo denariis.

Una ampulla argentea ad serviendum altari de una marca et tribus unciis et duobus denariis. Item aliæ duæ ampullæ argenteæ de una marca et dimidia et duabus unciis et duodecim denariis.

Unus urceolus ad aquam benedicendam de tribus marcis et tribus unciis et dimidia et quattuor denariis.

Scrinium eburneum plenum reliquiis.

Unus bacinus argenteus de duabus marcis et dimidia et una uncia et quindecim denariis.

Unus leunculus de sex marcis argenti et dimidia.

Una justa argentea de quatuor marcis et tribus unciis et quatuor denariis.

Una casula festivalis cum vestimento suo optime parato. Item alia casula cum vestimento suo cotidiano. Item duæ casulæ et duæ albæ paratæ.

Una tunica cum vestimento suo parato.

Una dalmatica cum vestimento suo parato. Item alia tunica et alia dalmatica. Item manipulum unum.

Tres optimæ cappæ. Duo pallia imperialia, quibus postea capicia addita sunt, et ex eis cappæ effectæ.

Una alba cum amictu suo sine paratura.

Duo altaria marmorea ad deferendum, cum argento parata.

Unum linteum ad altare, aliud ad manus tergendas. Tres telæ lineæ ad faciendas albas.

Vestimentum imperatricis deguttatum auro, unde postea multæ paraturæ ad albas factæ sunt.

Hæc sunt quæ de ornamentis imperatricis post mortem ejus Beccum habuit:—

Unus calix aureus cum patena de tribus marcis.

Quatuor casulæ cum vestimentis suis paratis.

Duæ tunicæ et duæ dalmaticæ.

Sex cappæ, quarum duæ argento intextæ sunt.

Duo thuribula argentea.

Una justa de onogrifis, cujus colum et inferior pars et ungulæ concatenatæ circa ovum argentea sunt. Item libri capellæ imperatricis.

Duo bacini argentei.

[Immediately after the above, written on *fos.* 159 *b* and 160, occurs a fragment of a poem as to the return of Henry II. from Normandy after the arrangement of the peace referred to in the concluding lines of the *Draco Normannicus.*]

The peace of 1169.

Pace reformata, regum sua quisque revisit,
Tela relicta jacent, rura colonus habet.
Francorum patuit probitas, exercitus omnis
Ipsorum retulit quidquid ad arma fuit.
Danus [et] ostendit quidquid virtutis habebat,
Armis, consilio,[1] viribus, ense, manu.

Contrast between the capture of (Chaumont) and the burning of (Andely).

Pontificis villam sine muris tradidit igni;
Hæc sibi laus, feritas pro probitate manet.
Danus ad arma potens, castellum milite, muris
Cinctum vi penetrat, diripit, urit, abit.
Hæc duo qui novit, sibi comparet, inspicietque
Quis fuerit major vel feritate minor.
Altas Francigenum cervices Danus abegit,
Arduus in sese deficit ille tumor.
Francus Danorum minitatur[2] castra vel urbes,
Nec capit hæc, nec in his[3] tela vel arma jacit.
Normannis sua jura manent feritate paterna,
Frustra bella ciet, qui probitate caret.

---

[1] *concilio,* MS.
[2] *minatur,* MS.
[3] Thus in MS.

Anglus rex igitur, munitis urbibus armis,
Pertransire parat culmina salsa sali.
At Boreas perflans ventos involvit et arcet,
Dorsa maris stimulans turbida quæque facit.
Denegat horrendo fremitu sua subdere jura,
Regales cuneos vi retinere cupit.
Cæsareas acies sic olim ferre recusat;
Cæsar at indignans æquoris intrat iter.
Nauta refert varias borealis flaminis auras,
"Quem vehis est Cæsar, quid times?" ille subit.
Par opus et dictum Willelmi regis habetur,
Qui Rufus quodam nomine dictus erat,
Labitur hinc rumor, quod consulis Andegavensis
In Normannigenas vis violenta furit.
Eynoris ad littus properat cum milite pauco,
Nauta canit Boream, respuit unda ratem.
Rex contra: "Regem tantum non ferre pavescas,
"Nam regem nullum subruit unda sali."
Sic violenta manus vi transiit æquoris alta,
Invitus Boreas regis ad arma favet.
Jure pari ferus iste salum fremitusque borinos
Temnens horrisonis flatibus instat, abit.
Fluctibus in mediis, boreali flante procella,
Vela tument, naves concutit unda fremens.
Funibus abruptis mali funduntur, et ipsas
Antennas subito carbasa scissa ferunt.
Nautarum strepitus sic militis ipse tumultus
Frangere vult fluctus, consolidare rates.
Sævior insistit Boreas, obsistit et Auster,
Huc illucque fretum turbine quisque rapit.
Jam maris unda furens tabulata per intima serpit,
Fluctus transtra tenet, planctus ubique sonat.
Nauclerus pavitans artem clavumque relinquit,
Fato se tribuit, flatibus, atque salo.
Undas ceu montes videas vallesque profundas,
Hinc scopuli, Syrtes, inde Charybdis adest.

Henry crosses to England in stormy weather.

William Rufus had done the like.

Two vessels sink.

In proram puppimque simul vis turbinis instat;
  Proh dolor! hic geminas[1] obruit unda rates.
Hic clari proceres pereunt cum milite multo,
  Gaza sub undivagis fluctibus ipsa latet.
Fortior ast aliis regalis navis in alto
  Prædita nautarum viribus obstat adhuc.
Nunc fluctus findit, nunc sævas transvolat undas,
  Vis tabulata ratis frangere nulla potest.
Tempestas furibunda minax insurgit et arcet,
  Ventus et imber obest, æquoris unda furit.
Jam sibi præsidio mundano deficiente,
  Non possunt miseri vivere sive mori.[2]

---

[1] Hoveden mentions one only.

[2] The scribe here adds, "*non plus* "*reperi*," and the hand which wrote the words "libellum istum," (see p. 758) adds, "*in exemplari*." At the foot of the page (*fo.* 160) occurs the signature "*J. Baudri-* "*bose*."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

[The poems by Etienne de Rouen here printed are to be found in a manuscript which first belonged to the Abbey of Bec Herluin, and afterwards to the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés (No. 1,547, *olim* 771). This is now No. 14,146 in the Fonds Latin of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.]

(1.)

[Stephani Rotomagensis Monachi Beccensis Carmen Elegiacum de Waleranno Comite Mellenti.][1]

Emicat hic magni laus, gloria, mors Galeranni.

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli, *fo. 1.*
  Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.[2]
Jura necis violenta fremunt dulcedine pomi,
  Si dulcedo fuit, pestis amara, lues.
Nam neque rex, nec opes, neque vis, neque gloria mundi
  Hanc superare queunt ; sed sibi cuncta favent.
A sapiente nequit stultum discernere, cunctos
  Dum sibi substernit, commonet esse pares.
Legis tam diræ vim quis depellere possit,
  Summa patris proles cum favet ipse neci ?
Ut nasci natura dedit, sic culpa parentis
  Primi dat soboli non nisi jure mori.
Mors igitur, generale chaos, desævit in omnes,
  Parcere dum nescit, fortia quæque rapit.
Parvos sic minimis, humiles conferre superbis
  Audet, et in proprium jus sibi nata trahit.
Hanc subit, immo terit probitatis laus Galerannus :
  Vincit ut invictus fortia jura necis.
Nam virtute polum conscendit, et intima linquit,
  Cujus vita manet vita beata, Deus.
Hic de stirpe satus comitum regumque propinquus,

---

[1] Martène's title is here given. His note to this poem is as follows : "Hu- " jus Galeranni non semel mentio- " nem facit Ordericus Vitalis, sed " præsertim lib. 13 Hist. Eccl. ad " annum 1136, ubi hæc habet : *Tunc* " *Stephanus rex (Angliæ) filiam* " *suam biennem Galeranno comiti* " *de Mellento in cunabulis dedit.*"

[2] This couplet occurs *verbatim et literatim* in the "*Draco Normannicus*, Lib. I., *ll.* 289, 290.

Quos sensu superat, moribus, ense, throno.
Hos sequi probitate parum sibi computat esse,
Vult superare duces, nescit habere parem.

Qualis fuit.[1]

Hic Paris in facie, statura Nestor, Ulixes
Consilio, belli viribus Hector erat;
Crœsus divitiis, in causis Quintilianus,
Eloquio Cicero, versibus ipse Maro.
Sic ortu, lingua, sensu, virtute, triumphis.
Forma, rebus erat splendidus absque pari.

Quæ conjunx.

Huic conjux speciosa satis, par nobilitate,
Moribus, ingenio, sanguine, corde, fide.
Hæc comitem comitissa parit comiti sociata,
In nati speciem parturit ipsa patris.
Hic animis idem, censu, studiis, feritate,
Sensibus, eloquio, munere, mente, manu.
In cunctis similis, si solum par foret ætas,
Quam natura dabit, si sibi fata sinant.

Qui nati.

Sunt alii nati magni probitate futuri,
Si tamen in patriis moribus ire juvat.
Ex his degenerat nullus virtute nec actu,
Quisque sibi nomen comparat inde novum.
Par species, par nobilitas, par fervor in illis,
Par opus et studium, par pietatis amor.
Sic pater in natis ut vivens fulget imago,
Si prolem videas, conspicis ipse patrem.
In natis partitus adest, manet unus in illis,
Deserit his totum se probitate virum.
Quam fragilis mundi sit amor, sit gloria fallax,
Is radio mentis dum videt, inde cavet.

[1] These words are in rubric in the margin.

Consideratio.

Inspexit quid honos, quid opes, quid gloria mundi,
Quid sit homo, quid erit, quid sibi morte manet.

Quid honos.

Ut fumus vanescit honos, ut spuma liquescit,
Transit deficiens, ac velut umbra fugit.

Quid opes.

Morte cadens quid opum secum deferre valebit?
Egreditur nudus, dic ubi cæcus abit?

Quid gloria.

Doxa tibi mundi quid erit sine numine cœli?
Pompa nitens oculis vana fit ante Deum.

Quid sit homo.

Vile lutum conceptus homo, natus caro, terra.

Quid erit.

Vita functus erit vermibus esca, cinis.

Quid sibi manet.

Morte manet sibi pro vitiis usura Gehennæ:
Pro virtute salus, gloria, vita, quies.
His igitur senis vigilanti corde notatis,
Terrea contemnit, cœlica sola petit.
Linquit opes, calcatur honos, nec gloria mundi
Jam sapit, immo cadit, nec cadit, immo perit.
Sese cernit humum, vermem, cineremque futurum:
Horret supplicium, certat habere polum.
Distribuit, linquit, contemnit cuncta, subitque
Mite jugum Christi corpore, corde pio.
Consul, nunc monachus, dives, nunc pauper inanis,
Quam sit honor mundi cernere quisque valet.

Fallacia deliciarum.

Dic ubi deliciæ, regalia fercula mensæ,
Nectarei potus, præcipuique cibi,
Vas auro gemmisque nitens, trabeatus in ostro
Discolor ornatus, multus[1] ubique cliens,
Aureus in phaleris equus, ardens splendor in armis,
In bellis resonans militis alta manus.
Aere suspensæ turres, fastigia muri,
Cælatus thalamus, mænia, tecta, domus.
Condensus nemorum saltus, cantusque volucrum,
Vulpis flexibilis, dente timendus aper.
Cornibus horrendus cervus, capreæque veloces,
Damula diffugiens, cæcus in ante lepus.
His canis infestus concursu, dente, latratu,
Cujus et attractus naribus arcet odor.
Hinc avium jactus sustollitur, ardea scandit,
Accipiter jaculi, dum cadit, instar habet.
Fluminis anfractus sileo, tractusque marinos,
Floribus et pratis fontibus instat amor.
Quid vitis gemmas, quid flores, quid botriones?
Fructibus innumeris stat species et odor.
Prætereo carnis dominetur quanta voluptas,
Quæ magis ardescit, quo minus ipsa patet.

Vanitas.

Cetera quid referam præsentis gaudia vitæ,
Quæ genus humanum suscipit, ardet, amat?
His caro lascivit, lætatur, servit, obedit.
Talibus et finem credit inesse boni.
Accidit hoc, quia cæca Dei cognoscere lumen
Nescit, et in tenebris stat sibi mortis iter.
Pulvere terreno visus fœdatus ad alta
Vix aciem tollit, pressus ad ima ruit.
Hæc contemplatus,[2] Galerannus spernit amœna,
Delitias, et opes, dulcia quæque soli.

---

[1] *multusque*, MS.

[2] *contemptus*, MS.

Nomine, veste, loco, victu, sermonibus, actu
Jura subit monachi, sicque beatus obit.
Conservat cineres Pratellum,[1] cœlica mentem,
Uniet hæc Christus consociata sibi.
Nec mirum reputetur Ei, qui cetera finxit,
Spiritui limum si reparare queat.

Descriptio.

Est igitur locus hic, qui tanti continet ossa,
Fratribus ornatus, religione potens,
Vallis amœna satis, nemorosis frondibus ampla,
Ut fessos relevet, sufficit ipsa sibi.
Nobile cœnobium tenet, ambit, servat, adornat,
Obsequiis dignis inclyta membra viri.
Fontibus irriguis,[2] florentibus undique pratis,
Ex re nomen habet, quod locus ipse fovet.
Hoc hujus proavi fundarunt, busta retentat,
Testanturque locum sumptibus esse suum.

Conclusio.

His comitum speciale decus junctus Galerannus,
Ceu stellæ radius, clarus in orbe micat.
Immortalis enim fama, virtute, triumphis
Vivit, non moritur, nec perit, immo manet.
Obvius occurret Christo jam glorificatus,
Ut sibi sit requies, gloria, vita, Deus.[3]

---

[1] Martène's note here is: "Pratellum monasterium ordinis S. Benedicti in diœcesi Lexoviensi, ab Hunfredo de Vetulis fundatum. Ibidem jacet Galerannus, qui sumto in extremis habitu monastico obiit anno 1166. 5. idus Aprilis ætatis suæ 61."

[2] *irruguis*, MS.

[3] The poem ends on *fo.* 3.

(2.)

fo. 3 b.

G audet amor verus carum dum novit amicum,
I nnatum multis si cor non gestat iniquum;
S ensus enim noster veros discernit amicos.
L ex naturalis compellit amare propinquos:
E st vigor interior mentem qui fallere nescit,
B isso splendidior, dum lux sibi vera patescit,
E x vi naturæ te sic compellor amare,
R ebus secure poteris quod et ipse notare,
T e licet ignotum vultu, circumfero totum;
O mne bonum cupio teneas, talis tibi fio.

S igna quidem mentis sunt talia verba loquentis,
T estanturque meum tibi cor seu vasa lyæum:
E xponunt mentem ceu flosculus efflat odorem,
P romunt ardorem de pectoris igne calentem;
H os tibi transmitto versus in pignus amoris,
A st velut est moris, alios te mittere scito,
N otus cum mihi sis, volo discere carmine quis sis.
V elle meum mulcebit carmen, quod mihi dulce,
S uscipito munuscula quod dat avus tuus unus.

S int tibi dulcia, nec tibi vilia conspiciantur,
A spicis intima, quæ tibi proxima jam sociantur.
L ittera pingit, quod tibi stringit, carmen amantis,
V is ea mentis, quam tibi sentis dona tonantis.
T e pietas simul et bonitas æterna coronet:
E xterius regat, interius cœlestia donet:[1]
M etam nunc pono, cognato me tibi dono.

---

[1] Altered by erasure from *donat.*

(3.)

Quis, quantus, qualis consul fuit Andegavensis *fo.* 171 *b.* *to fo.* 173.
Edidit hic talis descriptor Rothomagensis.

Militiæ decus et patriæ dux en subit astra, *Saltantes.*[1]
Æcclesie pacisque piæ fortissima castra,
Qui patrium ferus imperium non extenuavit,
Sed ducibus vel consulibus prior amplificavit;
Qui Paridis seu Tindaridis faciem renovabat,
Hectoreum cunctis in eum corpus rutilabat;
Qui clipeatus vel galeatus Mars fuit alter, *Inclinantes.*
Palladis hastam sanguine pastam gessit et alter.
Pectus Achillis protulit illis et feritatem,
Qui cupierunt aut statuerunt asperitatem
Pectoris ejus seu patriæ jus prevaricari,
His animosum seque perosum scivit amari.
Hunc sapientia necne scientia lætificabant, *Titubantes.*
Terrea gloria, celsa palacia condecorabant;
Non fuit altior aut sapientior ullus in istis,
Quos tegit ætheris aula vel aeris hæc plaga tristis.
Novit amabilis et venerabilis esse benignis,
Impenetrabilis, inviolabilis atque malignis,
Sceptriger insignis consul fuit Andegavensis, *Ventrosi.*[2]
Quem titulis dignis celebret plebs Pictaviensis.
Nec minus hunc referat Normannia terra celebris,
Bellis jam dederat subjectam quam sibi crebris:
Hujus fama soli pertransit culmina queque,
Scandit et alta poli, super æthera prosilit eque!
Terret et hæc reges, populos premit ipsa feroces, *Concatenati.*
Angit et atroces, cupientes frangere leges,
Quas hic sancivit, quas tempnens qui violavit,
Pœnis multavit, quas devitare nequivit.
Justiciæ cultor, sincerus pacis amator,
Juris sectator, legum firmissimus ultor,
Sola salus patriæ, speculum lux atque sophiæ, *Leonini.*
Artibus imbutus septenis, sensus acutus,

[1] *Sat̄.* | [2] *Ventr̄.*

Precluis orator, logicæ nec segnis amator,
Rethoricos flores edoctus sive colores,
Cautus et a puero falsum discernere vero,
Multimoda specie perfusus phylosophiæ.
Caudati. In prosa Cicero, versu Maro cederet illi,
In logica Socrates, armis equandus Achilli:
Huic quicquid sciri potuit, credo, patuere;
Gloria, divitiæ, sapientia tanta fuere,
Quanta nec exponi possit, sed nec meditari.
Munde, sed immunde, cunctos tibi qui sociari
Quæris, et in ventrem transfundere perditionis,
Quam fallax, fidei nullæ, vel relligionis
Sis, hic agnovit, cum tu super alta tulisti
Equoris, ac mortis potum ridens tribuisti.
Parcæ, non parcæ, quia nulli parcere scistis,
Cedere cur superis hunc tam cito sic voluistis?
Ast tamen huic cimbam Stigii deferte Caronis,
Qua Flegeton fluvius tranetur perditionis.
Nec saltem videat quæ sit domus atra Plutonis;
Elisiis campis quin transeat, ut regionis
Incola florigeræ, vitæ sociusque perhennis
Gaudeat, arescat donec Langia perhennis,
Donec sol lunæ, vel solis luna laborem
Arripiat, donec perdant utrique colorem,
Donec sol radiis, Phebes umbra vacuetur,
Ac æther stellis celisque solum relevetur,
Sydera vel recubent in aquis, piscesque natabunt
Æthere, seu volucres ipse super astra meabunt.

Reciproci. Pestis amara nimis viventibus insidiosa,
Mors metuenda malis pestis amara nimis,
Ultima sors superis lex irrevocabilis evi,
Jus patrium cunctis ultima sors superis.
Nec genus aut species sexus te movit et ætas,
Aurum non movit, nec genus aut species,
Subditur omne tibi quod vescitur aeris aura,
Quicquid in orbe sapit subditur omne tibi.

Cogitur omnis homo descendere per tua jura,
  Flectere colla tibi cogitur omnis homo,
Nomen in orbe tuum precellit nomina cuncta:
  Nam genus omne tremit nomen in orbe tuum.
Huic aliud simile michi non monstraret Homerus,
  Non fuit in terris huic aliud simile,
Hoc domat et populos, reges prosternit atroces,
  Obruit insanos, hoc domat et populos.
Legibus atra tuis mors obstat nulla potestas,
  Aurum non obstat legibus atra tuis,
Per tua regna cadit quicquid natura creavit,
  Auras qui carpit per tua regna cadit.
Quis precor Ille fuit, te qui contempnere quivit,
  Te qui non sensit, quis precor ille fuit ?
Summus et ipse Deus voluit tua jura subire,
  Factus homo moritur summus et ipse Deus.
Quem tibi non subicis, talem quæ flectere quisti,
  Christum quæ flectis, quem tibi non subicis ?
Ut tibi cedit inops sic cedit servus et auri,
  Dives sic cedit ut tibi cedit inops,
Cedit et insipiens, cedit dialecticus arte,
  Cedit rethoricus, cedit et insipiens,
Cedit et omne tibi, quod sese vivere sentit,
  Quod sub sole jacet, cedit et omne tibi.
Cessit et iste tibi, quem carmen personat istud,
  Laus cujus fremit hic cessit et iste tibi.

Virginis in thalamo Phebus jam clauserat horas, *Exametri.*
Bis decies denas, ter sexaginta, ter octo,
Bis quadragenas, semel octo, sed et duodenas.
Sirius ac totidem, bis septem bisque duabus,
Bis quinis, bis sex, bis quattuor inde remotis ;
Imbrifer a Marte mensis septenus in arcem
Cælestis sedis mentem cum consulis hujus
Sustulit, ipsius septena luce suborta.[1]

[1] The orthography of the MS. is preserved in the case of this and the succeeding poems.

(4. *Extract.*)

Metrum dactilicum tetrametrum constans ex spondeo dactilo catalecto item dactilo spondeo.

fo. 177 *b.*

Poem addressed to the author's friend Rodolph.

Romæ jam posito verba Maronis
DULcia gustanti mella sophiæ
Fomine jam tali concipienti
Ille suus vatis dicta sophySTE
Pectoris in PHAretra condere verus
Quo queat agnosci VirgiliaNUS.
Miraris forsan me tibi nondum
Metro vel prosa scripta dedisse,
En fateor musam pertimuisse
Tanto tantilli ferre labores,
Verum jam lapso retro timore,
Læta tuum vultum cernere tendit
Ante pedes cujus discere gliscit,
Secum gestando carminis odas
Scemate multiplici condecoratas.
Si cupis auctorem noscere quis sit,
Aut quis quem tantis laudibus effert,
Auribus haurito quæ tibi pando.
Hos circunseptos tegmine sacro
Noveris ex patrum fonte meare,
Quem Christi clarus continet ortus,
Cujus discurrens fama per orbem
Astraque transcendens culmina cæli
Concutit ac penetrat, scandit et implet.
Hujus si nomen noscere gliscis
Claudere bis ternas cerne figuras:
B precedit in his E sibi juncta,
C sequitur qua fit syllaba prima;
Altera C subit has, U sibi subdens,
Quas S concludit subdita cunctis.
At si vis horum nomina nosse,

Quos tibi præmisi taliter audi.
Auctor, ut ipse canit, nominis arcem
Possidet illius, fungitur officio,
Qui Christi primus bella peregit,
Perfusus proprii fonte cruoris.
Inspice quod STEPHANUS dicitur iste,
Levitæque gradum cernito ferre;
Hunc hujus noscas esse nepotem,[1]
Hos cui dignatur mittere versus,
In quibus agnosces hunc vocitari
BERNARDUM, monachis his dominari
Quos regit in pelago vis Michaelis,
Ipse quibus tribuit scandere cælis.
Id volo non dubites hoc fore primum
Carmen quod scriptor protulit iste,
Istud eo studio conspiciendum,
Hunc tibi do, constat quo fore scriptum,
Quod tu tantillo carmina mittis,
Grates multiplices hinc tibi reddo.

. . . . . .

Harum quam doceas non bene novi
Primo, sed intento corde relectis
Versibus agnovi. Credo secundam
Te michi scripsisse jam fugiendam.
Grates innumeras hinc tibi solvo,
Quod tua majestas carmina præstat,
Quod tua mens de me sollicitatur,
Quod me dignaris tanta docere,
Si tamen ipse doces, nam Deus in te,
Ut video, degens, hæc tua scripta
Fabricat atque suo lumine complet.

. . . . . .

---

[1] These three lines (*inspice . . nepotem*) are written on an erasure.

(5. *Extract.*)

fo. 186.

Poem on the elevation of the author's uncle to the abbacy of Mont St. Michel.

Ecce dies clara rutilat super ætheris astra,
Luminis hæc gnara perlustrat cœlica castra,
Fulget ubique dies, fame diffundit odorem,
Qua dignus decies monachus conscendit honorem.
Ista namque die fit ovis pastor monachorum,
Filius ecclesiæ pater extat nunc aliorum,
Filius ipse pater simul est et filia mater.
Hic pastor factus, pastorum gaudia nactus,
Contempnit vallem, scit Montis scandere callem,
Tendit et ad Montem purum cognoscere fontem,
Cœlica rimari, cœlestia præmeditari,
Linquere terrena, saciari divite vena.
Et sciat æterna, careat jam sorde veterna,
Culmine virtutum persistat valle relicta,
Menteque non ficta scit Montem scandere tutum
Pneumatis ut sacri dapifer factus Michaelis,
Abluat in cœlis cor summi fonte lavacri,
Et videat Christum, mundo qui præsidet isti,
Ac Patrem Christi cum sacro Pneumate mixtum.
Si genus istius vel mores noscere quæris
Hic breviter studeo verbis depromere veris:
Hujus uterque parens præclaro stegmate nati
Inter concives præ multis sunt venerati,
Hunc aluit puerum Normannia terra celebris,
Parisius fecit cecis exire tenebris,
Cum casu casum docuit conjungere dudum.

. . . . . .

(6.)

Metrum parremiacum anapesticum, quod dimetro catalecto constat.

Nova carmina confice Musa, *fo.* 191.
Licet hic tibi non novus extet,
Cui metrum scribere temptas,
Hunc olim nam eruisti,
Cognoscere nec valuisti
Ejus speciem removere,
Proprio quin pectore fixa
Tenet illius interiora.
Nam Parthonopeus in annis
Paridis faciem renovabat,
Tideum statura notabat.
Ast nunc in phylosophiæ
Studiis animum spaciando,
Hic ingenio fit Homerus,
Nec prosa jam Ciceroni
Cedit metrove Maroni.
Huic tanto phylosophorum
Cur audes scribere Clio?
Amor hoc facit, intima dudum
Cordis penetralia lustrans,
Tandem nunc exerit ignem,
Quem longo tempore clausum
Nec verbis promere quibat.
Verum quia fama per orbem
Currens proprias replet aures,
Hujus narrans michi laudes,
Huic munera carminis hujus
Michi noscas mittere dulce,
Hæc nunc si cernere tantum
Dignetur vel retinere.
Nam talia ferre timesco

Tanto jam phylosophorum,
Licet hæc mea munera parva
Dilectio maxima fundat,
Quam cernere si valuisset
Reor amplius inde stuperet,
Modicum quod ego sibi notus
Hunc tanto mentis amore
Cordis complector in imis.
Sed me fore noverit illum
Patruus quem dulciter ejus
Enutriit instituitque,
Si diligit ergo nepotem
Hujus qui contulit ista,
Non multum cerno stupendum.
Sed jam valeas michi care,
Indutum quem monachilem
Me cernere spero cucullam
Cum munere Pneumatis almi.

LIST OF MONKS RECEIVED INTO THE ABBEY OF BEC BY LETARD, THE SIXTH ABBOT OF THAT HOUSE.

*** *Extracted from a Manuscript in the Vatican Library* (Reg. 499).

[fo. 11 b.] . . . . .

Hucusque matriculatio v. *abbatis.*[1]

Gaufridus.
Henricus.
Teodericus.
Harduinus.
Gaufridus.
B.
Goscelinus.
Godefridus.
Varinus.
Willelmus.
Anchitillus.
Wibertus.
Willelmus.
Willelmus.
BRI.
Rogerius.
Osbernus.
Walterius.
R.
Stephanus.
Goscelinus.

Henricus.
Willelmus.
Robertus.
Willelmus.
Herbertus.
Ricardus.
Clarebaldus.
Gislebertus.
Robertus.
Godefridus.
Robertus.
Hugo.
Gaufridus.
Herluinus.
Rogerius.
Robertus.
Wibertus.
Aldhelelmus (*sic*).
Rogerius vij. abbas.
Walterius.
Rainaldus.
Raszo.
Helyas.

Symon.
Gislebertus.
Vigerius.
Robertus.
Willelmus.
Samuel.
Ansfridus.
Johannes.
Ernaldus.
Symon.
Rodulfus.
Gislebertus.
Nicholaus.
Hugo.
Robertus.
Hugo.
Robertus.
Willelmus.
Willelmus
Willelmus.
Oliverus.
Osmundus.
Ernaldus.
Helto.

---

[1] These words mark the termination of the list of novices received by Theobald.

Humfredus.	Rodulfus.	Ricardus.
Rodulfus.	Adam.	Robertus.
Reinaldus.	Ricardus.	
Willelmus.	Symon.	*Hucusque matri-*
Aaron.	Turstinus.	*culatio* vj. *ab-*
Anschetillus.	Henricus.	*batis.*[1]
Robertus.	Sanson.	. . . .

[1] 141 names follow, and then we reach the entry "Ro. de Novo-"burgo." In the Chronicle of Bec in the same MS. (*fo.* 166) we find the entry, "Anno Domini MCLIX. "kal. Aug. Robertus de Novo-"burgo, vicedominus totius Nor-"manniæ, vir magnæ prudentiæ et "bonitatis, multatus infirmitate "factus est monachus Beccensis "ecclesiæ."

GLOSSARY.

**** *No attempt has been made to indicate all the instances in which a word occurs.*

A.

ACERRA (ACERNA), a box to hold incense, 759.

AISIAMENTUM, an easement, 511.

ALBA, an alb, a vestment of linen worn under the tunic or chasuble, 759.

ALBINUS, silver. In the *Draco Normannicus* (662, 727, 741), silver and gold are either personified as *Albinus* and *Rufinus*, or are referred to as *album* and *rubrum* (*metallum*).

ALBUM, 741. *See* ALBINUS.

AMICTUS, an amice, a square of linen placed round the neck of a priest, 759.

ANGARIA, distress, hardship, 210.

ASSISA, an assessment, an edict, or sometimes the equivalent of the modern word *assize*, 505, &c.

B.

BACINUS, a basin, 759, 760.

BALISTARIUS, a crossbow man, 519, 520, 570.

BALLIVUS, a bailiff, 519, 567.

BAUBELLA, jewels, 503.

BENEFICIATUS, holding a benefice, 574, &c.

BRAVIUM, a prize or reward, 190.

BUSTA, a box, 759.

C.

CAPA, a cape (tippet), xv.

CAPELLA, the fittings of a travelling chapel, 273.

CAPELLANIA, the stipend of a chaplain, 136.

CAPICIUM (CAPUTIUM), a hood or covering for the head, 759.

CAPITULUM, the chapter of an ecclesiastical establishment, 139, &c.; also a chapter in a book, *passim*.

CAPPA, a cope, a semi-circular vestment used in processions, 759, 760.

CARECTA (CARETA), a cart, 513.

CARUCATA, the amount of land which one plough would suffice to cultivate, 555.

CASULA, a chasuble, the priest's sacramental vestment, 759.

CATALLUS (usually CATALLUM), a chattel, 509.

CHORUS, the part of a church usually called the choir, 139, 526.

CLAUSTRUM, a cloister, 139.

COMPOTUS, an account, 575.

CONVERSUS, usually in English chronicles this word means a converted Jew, 216.

COTERELLUS, a mercenary soldier, 209. This word is equivalent to RUTA, RUTOR, RUCTARIUS.

CULVERT (CULVERTAGIUM), to collect a force "*sub nomine culvertagii*" implies a threat to punish absentees with slavery, 514.

D.

Dalmatica, a dalmatic, a vestment worn by deacons when serving at mass, often richly embroidered, 759, 760.

Denarius, as a *weight*, 24 grains, 758, &c.

E.

Escarletum, scarlet cloth, 274.

F.

Feodare, to enfeoff, 576.

Feretrum, strictly a bier, but often the shrine of a saint, 556.

Feria, frequently a week-day, 220, &c.

Forestarius, a forester, 511.

G.

Galea, a galley, 212.

Galiota, a small galley, 522

Grisius, the fur called *vair*, 274.

Guerra (often Werra), war, *passim*.

H.

Homagium, homage, 513, &c.

Hominium, homage, 209.

I.

Induciæ, a truce, 517, 555, 582.

Invadiare, to pledge or mortgage, 274.

J.

Justa, a cup, 759, 760.

L.

Laceatus, trimmed with lace, 274.

Leuca, a league, 583.

Ligius, liege, 504.

Lignamina, materials for building ships, 212.

Lotrix, a laundress, 274.

M.

Manerium, a manor, 545, &c.

Marca, a mark—as a weight it is two thirds of a pound troy, as money a mark of silver is 13*s.* 4*d.*, of gold 6*l.*, 758, &c.

Marchia, border districts (marches), 526.

Maritagium, the right of bestowal in marriage, 505.

Matriculatio, the act of enrolling on a *matricula* or list of members of an ecclesiastical body, 780, 781.

Missa, a mass or eucharistic office, 516.

Monialis. *See* Sanctimonialis.

N.

Nocumentum, hurt or nuisance, 519.

Nona, the "canonical hour" from 2 or 3 p.m. to vespers, 516.

O.

Octaba, the octave or eighth day from a festival (the day of the festival is reckoned in), 220.

Ovum Grifis (wrongly *onogrifis* on p. 760) "A Griffin's egg" mounted in metal, probably an ostrich egg, forming a cup.

P.

Parcus, a park, 545.

Parisius, Paris, 755, &c. This form is treated in mediæval Latin as an indeclinable noun.

Patena, a paten, one of the eucharistic vessels, 758, 760.

Pedagio (Pedagium), a road tax, 216.

Perhendinare, to stay or stop, 574, 575.

Pertinentia (used in mediæval Latin as a feminine noun), an appurtenance, 509, 513.

Prima, the service which immediately succeeds matins, 516.

Procuratio, the holding of a proxy (*i.e.* being proctor), 219.

R.

Respectus, respite, 555.

Rubrum, 741. *See* Albinus.

Ructarius, Ruta, Rutor, 172, 504, 520. *See* Coterellus.

Rufinus, 662, 727. *See* Albinus.

Rumphea (Rhomphæa or Rumpia), a long javelin, 595.

S.

Sabellinus, the fur called sable, 274.

Salutes, perhaps means presents. The ancient French coins called "*saluts*" are not known to have been struck before the 15th century, 743.

Sanctimonialis (or Monialis), a nun, 218, 512, 574, 575.

Satrina, a cake, 665.

Scaccarium, the Exchequer, 573, &c.

Scrinium, a shrine, 759.

Scutella, perhaps a vessel hung under a lamp to catch drops of oil, 759.

Serviens, a foot soldier, a sergeant, 519.

T.

Tallia, a tax, 211, 216.

Taxator, a person who fixes or assesses an amount, 571, 573.

Tonellum, a wine cask, 505.

Torneiamentum, a tournament, 219, &c.

Thuribulum, a censer, 758, 760.

Treuga, a truce (sometimes Treuia), 220, 527.

V.

Viaticum, the eucharist, usually when given to a person *in extremis*, 207.

Vicecomes, a sheriff, 511, &c.

Vinetum (Visnetum), the neighbourhood, 273.

W.

Werra (Guerra), war, 505.

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Vol. II.—1574-1585.	

The above have been published under the editorship of Mr. H. C. Hamilton.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., and John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1872-1880.

Vol. I.—1603-1606.	Vol. IV.—1611-1614.
Vol. II.—1606-1608.	Vol. V.—1615-1625.
Vol. III.—1608-1610.	

This series is in continuation of the Irish State Papers commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; but, for the reign of James I., the Papers are not confined to those in the Public Record Office, London.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq. 1860-1884.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574-1660.
Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513-1616.
Vol. III.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1617-1621.
Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622-1624.
Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661-1668.
Vol. VI.—East Indies, 1625-1629.

These volumes include an analysis of early Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London (Vols. I.-IV.); and *by* James Gairdner, Esq., (Vols. V., VI., VII., and VIII.) 1862-1885.

Vol. I.—1509-1514.	Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526-1528.
Vol. II. (in Two Parts)—1515-1518.	Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529-1530.
Vol. III. (in Two Parts)—1519-1523.	Vol. V.—1531-1532.
Vol. IV.—Introduction.	Vol. VI.—1533.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524-1526.	Vol. VII.—1534.
	Vol. VIII.—1535, to July.

These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Edward VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547-1553. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Mary, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553–1558. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest. The Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of Calais merit a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. These volumes treat only of the relations of England with foreign powers.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.–VII.), and Allan James Crosby, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vols. VIII.–XI.) 1863–1880.

Vol. I.—1558–1559.
Vol. II.—1559–1560.
Vol. III.—1560–1561.
Vol. IV.—1561–1562.
Vol. V.—1562.
Vol. VI.—1563.
Vol. VII.—1564–1565.
Vol. VIII.—1566–1568.
Vol. IX.—1569–1571.
Vol. X.—1572–1574.
Vol. XI.—1575–1577.

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Elizabeth. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

Calendar of Treasury Papers, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office *Edited by* Joseph Redington, Esq. 1868–1883.

Vol. I.—1557–1696.
Vol. II.—1697–1702.
Vol. III.—1702–1707.
Vol. IV.—1708–1714.
Vol. V.—1714–1719.

The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

Calendar of the Carew Papers, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and William Bullen, Esq. 1867–1873.

Vol. I.—1515–1574.
Vol. II.—1575–1588.
Vol. III.—1589–1600.
Vol. IV.—1601–1603.
Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.
Vol. VI.—1603–1624.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, in the Lambeth Library, are unique and of great importance to all students of Irish history.

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. Bergenroth. 1862–1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485–1509.
Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509–1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. 1873–1883.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525–1526.
Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527–1529.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529–1530.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1531–1533.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—*continued*.—Hen. VIII.—1531–1533.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864–1884.

Vol. I.—1202–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.—1534–1554.
Vol. VI., Part I.—1555–1556.
Vol. VI., Part II.—1556–1557.
Vol. VI., Part III.—1557–1558.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.–Edw. III. 1066–1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.–Chas. II.; 1377–1654. 1869–1873.

The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

In the Press.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. IV.—1588–1590.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. Vol. V.—1302–1307. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland); *continued by* GUSTAVUS FREDERICK HANDCOCK, Esq.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVIII.—1641–1643.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. V., Part I.—1534–1536.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XI.—1658–1659.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. IX.—1535, Aug. to Dec.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669, &c. Vol. VIII.—East Indies, 1630, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. XII.—1577.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VI.—1720, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. Vol. VII. 1559, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and con-" venient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, " would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to " the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House " therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased " to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for " the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, " and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this " purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

   Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. Lives of Edward the Confessor. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. Monumenta Franciscana. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It was the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. Memorials of Henry the Seventh: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. Memorials of Henry the Fifth. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* Charles A. Cole, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici,

written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of

the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history. Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in

date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. If possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^{mo} FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton. MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35 Edw. I.; and 11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister.

at-Law. Years 12–13 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Luke Owen Pike, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1885.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of Cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of attention on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy 1449–1450. —Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. Hart, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum libri duo; with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting

not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. ANNALES MONASTICI. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II.:—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV. 1431–1443. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, Esq., F.S.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law. 1884.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAVRIN. Albina to 688. (Translation

the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1883.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. LE LIVERE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVERE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the supposed author.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed

the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; and SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befel the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, or THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not an eye-witness, must have derived his information from eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169–1192, known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. Munimenta Academica, or, Documents illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Henry Anstey, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, from the Archives of the City of Dublin, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* John T. Gilbert, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. The Annals of Loch Cé. A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from 1014 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland: and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty, with Appendices. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI.:—Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by* the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

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This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a *desideratum* by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

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The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury are of great importance as regards the questions of Church and State, during the period in which he wrote. This work was printed by Twysden, in the "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X.," more than two centuries ago. The present edition has received critical examination and illustration.

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Henry of Huntingdon's work was first printed by Sir Henry Savile, in 1596, in his "Scriptores post Bedam," and reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. Both editions are very rare and inaccurate. The first five books of the History were published in 1848 in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," which is out of print. The present volume contains the whole of the manuscript of Huntingdon's History in eight books, collated with a manuscript lately discovered at Paris.

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79. Chartulary of the Ancient Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey, from the MS. in the Public Record Office. Vol. I. 1884. *Edited by* William Henry Hart, Esq., F.S.A., and the Rev. Ponsonby Annesley Lyons.

This Chartulary of the Ancient Benedictine Monastery of Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, came to the Crown on the Dissolution of Monasteries, was afterwards preserved in the Stone Tower, Westminster Hall, and thence transferred to the Public Record Office.

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These Chartularies, published for the first time, are the only documents of that description known to exist of the ancient establishments of the Cistercian Order in Ireland; two being of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and one of the House at Dunbrody, Wexford. One Chartulary is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, together with that of Dunbrody; the second is in the British Museum.

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